MIAMI, FLA. NEWS

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### Cubans surrender two ships

The Cuban government has handed over to Panama two Miami-based ships seized a year ago on condition that the vessels are not returned to their Cuban exile owners here.

The Panama-registered ships, the Johnny Express and the Layla Express, were captured in December, 1971, off the northern coast of Cuba.

Most of the crew members were returned. Still being held are Jose Villa, captain of the Johnny Express, and Augustin Torrres, a member of the Layla Express crew. Both have families in Miami. A third crew member, Ovidio Avila, of the Layla Express, is believed to have died in a Cuban prison.

The Castro government has claimed that the ships, captured by Cuban gunboats within 10 days of each other, were used by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency for numerous acts of piracy against Cuba.

The ships are owned by the Babun family, Cuban exiles living in Miami, who operate the Bahamas Line. Another ship of the company, the Lincoln Express, sank last Thursday off San Juan.

The ships were handed over to Panama following signing of an agreement in Havana yesterday under which Panama pledged not to turn the vessels over to their former owners.

The agreement was signed by Dr. Romulo Escobar Betancourt, rector of Panama University, and Dr. Rene Anillo, Cuban first deputy foreign minister.

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#### Approved For Release 2001/03/04 CIA-RDP8 24 NOV 1372

Helms at Camp David

#### It's Time to Look At the CIA

#### By Stephen S. Rosenfeld

MR. HELMS, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, was publicly summoned to Camp David this week to participate in what the White House terms its "major" reassessment of the American foreign policy structure. If his summons indicates that the United States' large secret intelligence establishment is to undergo the same Executive scrutiny being accorded the agencies which operate more in the public eye, then this is welcome and important news.

Before saying more, I should perhaps state that I am not one of those journalists with a close discreet working relationship with the CIA; for purposes of this article I requested an on-the-record interview with Helms or his chosen representative and did not receive one.

It would seem self-evident, however, that as the United States moves from an era of confrontation to an era of negotiation, from a time when Russia and Communism were widely perceived as terribly menacing to a time when both the country and the ideology are increasingly regarded as adequately neighborly, then the role of the CIA has got to be reviewed.

Now, obviously a great nation must have a professional intelligence service. The imperatives of defense, not to say elementary prudence, demand it. A case can even be made that a certain kind of technological intelligence is more essential in a period of incipient detente-in order to supply policy makers and their publics with the assurance they need in order to enter into new agreements with old adversaries.

THE SALT-I agreement apparently is unique in granting explicitly each side's right to lob intelligence satellites over the other's territory to count missiles, tests and so on. Presumably satellites would be similarly useful in verifying and in nourishing public confidence in any shifts made as a result of the forthcoming European force reduction talks. In all cease-fire situations, Mideast, what-have-you, intelligence Indochina or can be vital.

In at least two areas, however, intelligence needs review: for "dirty tricks" and for its secrecy.

The act of 1947 setting up the CIA specified that, in addition to intelligence duties, it was to perform "such other functions" as the National Security Council might direct. A "plans division" was set up in 1951. Most CIA directors, including Helms, have come up through Plans. The group seems to have been active, and conspicuously so, through the 1950s, toppling uncooperative governments, harassing wayward Communists, etc. The whole atmosphere was permissive: it was a President who are up the James Bond books who let the Plans Division or-

deputy director for Plans, an old Helms STATINTL man, operates on a much tighter leash (doing no more, it is said, than the Republicans are alleged to have done to the Democrats); that the old problems of policy control and separation of intelligence from operations are in hand; that the small and weak countries which once were the CIA's playgrounds are no longer so vulnerable to

At the same time, one hears that the President's old anti-Communist juices have not altogether stopped fermenting and that he receives and is responsive to reports that the Russians still play some pretty rotten tricks and, by golly, we ought to show them they can't do that to us and get away with it.

WHATEVER THE TRUTH, I would submit that the time is ripe for the Congress to' review the dirty-tricks mandate it gave to the CIA a quarter-century ago as the cold war was beginning to dominate the American outlook on the world. It is inconsistent, at the least, that the State Department should now be zeroing in on measures to combat "international terrorism" while the CIA retains a capacity to practice certain forms of it. Cuba's continuing lack of love for the CIA, restated in its bid for hijacking talks last week, underscores the point.

Secrecy is something else. No one who accepts the need for intelligence would argue that the whole process and products should be made public. But no one concerned with the health of democracy can accept that condition with equanimity. The general sense of being at war with communism since World War II has produced a far more secretive government than we would want or tolerate in other times. With that sense of being at war danger fading, the rationale or spur for secrecy diminishes accordingly. There is further the claim that the secrecy surrounding the CIA may have undermined the larger job of conducting a wise policy, i.e., one well discussed and debated.

This is the principal basis on which Senator Cooper earlier this year proposed that the relevant act be amended to give the foreign relations and defense committees of both houses access to the information and analysis obtained by the CIA--exactly as the Atomic Energy Commission has given such secret material for decades to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Predictably, the President objected. The Foreign Relations Committee approved the proposed amendment; the Armed Services Committee, otherwise preoccupied, did not act on it. Cooper is retiring but Senator Symington, who has his own sense of the need to assert the Congress' foreign policy responsibilities and his own record of concern for improving congressional oversight of the CIA, may be prepared to receive the torch. He's No. 2 on Armed Services, too.

The CIA is out of the news these days. It usually gets into the news only when it fouls up. But a lot more about its place in the new bureaucratic and international scheme of things ought to be known. Whether the CIA's activities are all essential and whether they are all organized efficiently are questions which a responsible Congress should not want to leave to a Chief Executive hud-

Approved For Release 2001/03/04a; CIA; RDP80-01601R000509030001-6 David.

to invade at the Bay of Pigs.

17 NOV 1372

#### U.S. Offers Direct Talks With Cubans

By H. D. S. Greenway Wasnington Post Staff Writer

State Department The moved decisively yesterday to reinforce the budding spirit of Cuban-American cooperation. on the hijacking issue, saying that the United States would be willing to enter into direct negotiations if the Cubans desire.

State Department spokesman Charles W. Bray said Secretary William P. Rogers met not only aerial hijackings, but with Swiss Ambassador Felix a number of crimes including Schnyder yesterday and asked stealing boats and illegal dehim to inform the Cuban gov-; partures from Cuba. ernment that the United move ahead toward some ing hearings in 1971; agreement on this issue in the manner."

pressed willingness to seek a Cuban authorities," "broad agreement" with the said. United States on the hijacking problem.

jacking agreement.

Swiss. But State Department ing force. . . . " spokesman Bray said that the "United States would have no objection to direct negotia-

Both the State Department and the White House, however, discouraged speculation that any hijacking agreement would lead to improved overall relations with Cuba.

White House press secretary Ronald L. Ziegler said he would "caution against" any ·broader implications might arise from hijacking talks. He referred to a recent interview in which President Nixon said there would be no United States itself.' change in policy towards Cuba until Fidel Castro changed his revolutionary attitude towards the Americas.

this one (hijacking) problem," Bray said.

He said that although it would be premature to speculate on the course negotiations might take, "our view is that this process should address itself basically to the future,". rather than restating past positions.

But the basic obstacle in the past has always been that the Cubans have sought a "broad agreement" while the Uniteed States has wanted to deal "specifically and narrowly" with hijacking. .

Wednesday's Cuban statement reiterates past Cuban policy by saying that any agreement should be based on their 1969 law-which covers

The U.S. objection to this States "welcomed" Cuba's ex- was stated by Assistant Secrepressed desire to reach a hi- tary of State Charles Meyer in jacking agreement and that testimony at Senate Foreign the United States wants "to Relations Committee hijack-

"Obviously, the U.S. governmost expeditious and effective ment could not agree to return refugees to Cuba simply A Cuban government an because they left that country nouncement Wednesday ex without the consent of the Meyer

State Department legal adviser Mark Feldman also testi-That the Secretary of State fied that beyond the simple should personally respond to refugee problem, which could Cuba's overture was seen as be covered by both countries an unusual move to stress U.S. reserving the right of political willingness to negotiate a hi- asylum, the United States also objected to a blanket agree-The United States and Cuba ment that could cover the have no diplomatic relations "theft of small boats, collusion and the Cubans are thought to with the pilot of a plane, a volprefer the present arrange, thisry arrangement for diverment of dealing through the sion of an aircraft not involv-

> He said the United States wanted to limit an agreement to the "serious problem of diversion by force of ships or aircraft. . . .

The Cubans, however, made it clear in their statement Wednesday that a broader agreement was necessary. It accused the United States of economic the "inventing blockade, mercenary aggressions and piratical attacks merchant vessels from bases located in territory of Central American countries and in the

Cuba accused the United States of encouraging illegal entries from Cuba into the United States and vice versa

's "Such an unlawful climate of unpunished piracy and violation of the most elementary norms of civilized life escalate the scrious problem of plane hijackings and other terroristic acts to their present disquieting proportions, which now affect the entire international community," the Cuban government said.

If the United States were willing to ease the posture of hostility towards Cuba, informed sources suggested, the Cubans might conceivably enter into a hijacking agreement that would not cover the simple refugee who exits Cuba without violence, theft or the diversion of ships or aircraft.

Meanwhile, the FBI assured the Air Line Pilots Association that the bureau intends to comply with a long-standing agreement to honor the airplane captain's command role during hijacking crises.

In the first of a series of meetings with responsible federal officials, ALPA presi-

dent John J. O'Donnell met for several hours yesterday with Robert Gebhardt, assistant FBI director in charge of its General Investigative Division, to express the pilots' concern about the events of last weekend and their preferences for future policy.

Both the FBI and ALPA declined to discuss the session, pending further developments.

#### Airline Remains Silent On Financial Problem

Southern Airways declined to comment yesterday on a report that a Civil Aeronautics Board spokesman said the airline faces financial collapse as a result of the reported \$2 million ransom paid three men who hijacked one of their jets to Cuba last weekend.

The chairman of the CAB, Secor D. Browne, however, that said here yesterday Southern Airways was faced with a serious financial problem.

The airline had earned \$1.3 million in profits between January and September, he said, and unless Cuba returned the money to Southern, the from CIA boats disguised as Vairline's financial future could be undermined.

STATINTL

"We are dealing here very for the number of subversion spannoved From Release 2003/04: CIA-RDP80-01601R000500030001-6

5 OCT 1972



# Czechoslovak revisionism and

By ERIK BERT

The principal document of the latest united front of anti-Soviet "liberals," Trotskyites, revisionists and others is the recent "openi letter" of Jiri Pelikan, a Czech revisionist now located in Italy.

His letter, published in the "liberal" New York Review of Books on August 31, and in the Trotsky-ite "Militant" on September 8 is framed in phrases about freedom of speech, democracy and the like.

It is anti-socialist and anti-Soviet.

This is evident in its dealing with the Vietnam war, socialism in Czechoslovakia, and the trade union and youth movements.

Pelikan seeks to ensuare enemies of U.S. imperialism by "agreeing" that "there is a big difference between American military aggression in Vietnam and the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia." What the "big difference" is, he does not say.

What he does say is that "the substance of the two interventions is the same; to prevent people from deciding their own destiny."

Why is Pelikan so shy about indicting U.S. imperialism?

Whatever one may think about the Czechoslovak events of 1968, one thing is evident: Pelikan covers up for U.S. aggression in Vietnam in 1972 by making its bloody devastation, in "substance," the same as the entry of the Warsaw pact troops in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

One thing is certain: the liberation forces of Vietnam don't think so.

Pelikan does demand the "immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam" — but in the same double-dealing fashion. For Pelikan, "the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam" is the same in "substance" as the withdrawal of "Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia."

He thus offers the Nixon administration an argument for not ending U.S. military aggression in Indochina until the Soviet Union has withdrawn its forces from Czechoslovakia. That's

mand" for the immediate withdrawals from Vietnam and Czechoslovakia is that the Soviet Union, like the U.S., is imperialist. The Trotskyites say it openly; he says it obliquely.

But the Trotskyites know what he means. That's why they hail him as a "prominent figure in the struggle for proletarian democracy" in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Czechoslovak revisionists and their "liberal" friends in the West declare that there was no threat of counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia in 1968. Let's leave that aside, and consider the revisionists' program today.

Pelikan today offers the planks for counter-revolution.

The main plank is that there is no socialism in Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia, Pelikan says, is a "country that calls itself 'socialist'." It is a "so-called 'working-class' state."

His platform like the platform of those who were tried and found guilty of actions against the socialist state, is that Czechoslovakia is not a socialist country.

He declares: "...the working class...of Czechoslovakia has made it clear that it does not consider the present regime socialist."

What he would have said, if he were honest is: "I, Jiri Pelikan, and my political associates do not consider the present regime socialist."

What does that imply?

Overthrow "the present regime." That's Pelikan's political platform. That's why the Trotskyites embrace him though he represents right opportunism.

Pelikan complains that the socalled "Workers Councils, formed in 1968 and dissolved in 1969, have been defined as 'instruments of counter-revolution'."

But that is precisely what they were. They were organized by the anti-socialist revisionists in order to extend their base, from journalists and intellectuals and students, into the working class.

They succeeded, in some degree, in penetrating the working class, arousing near-hysteria, threatening general strikes if Josef Smrkovsky, a leading revisionist, were not named chairman

Pelikan's un-class. anti-class

Pelikan's un-class, anti-class approach disguises itself in liberal concern for "political prisoners."

STATINTL

Thus, he wants the "release of all political prisoners in the world, in Greece, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Iran, the United States, and also in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union."

For him a "political prisoner" is a "political prisoner." A "political prisoner" of a socialist country is just as worthy of support as a "political prisoner" of a capitalist country.

What matter to him that in Cuba, let us say, the "political prisoners" are CIA agents who would restore capitalism and exploitation and subjection to U.S. imperialism?

What matter to him that in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union the "political prisoners" have incited anti-socialist actions?

Pelikan says "the Student Union has been dissolved," and the "New York Review of Books," and the "Militant" pass it on as legitimate.

The truth is that today almost every fifth person under 30 years of age is a member of the Social-

ist Union of Youth in Czechoslo-

The SUY was constituted in November 1970, after Czechoslovakia's unified youth movement had been disrupted and fragmented by the revisionist upsurge in 1968 and 1969.

In the less than two years since its founding convention the SUY has doubled in membership; its basic organizations have increased two and a half times in number.

At present there are SUY organizations in all important factories, plants and shops; at all universities, secondary schools, apprentice training centers, units of the armed forces and in more than 60 percent of all villages.

Young workers account for almost one fourth of the membership.

where double-deal proved For Release 2001/03/04: CIA-RDP80-01601R0005000300991-faued.

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# Panama is planning to seize freed vessels

Teofilo Babun, owner of Privarias Line, a shipping here, is keeping about Panama's announcement that it will confiscate two of his cargo ships, if they are released by Cuba.

The cargo ships Johnny Express and Layla Express were seized by Cuban gunboats in December, and have been held by Cuba ever since. Both bear Panamanian registry.

Cuban Premier Fidel Castro said early last month the ships would be released to a Panamanian crew this week.

Panama then announced it would confiscate the ships, use them in Panama, and not remunerate the owners, as punishment to them for their troubles with Cuba.

Romulo Escobar Betancourt, rector of the University of Panama and the man who negotiated the ships' expected release, charged the ships' owners had misused the Panamanian flag to con-

duct "anti-Castro activities ders from the U.S. Central from those ships under or- Intelligence Agency."

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26 SEP 1972

# Big Daddy Is Always

# Watching in

By JOHN P. WALLACH News American Washington Bureau

"In Cuba, you have to be a! And you can't become a official guide explained. "But if been chosen a "Vanguard" The you're not a member of worker. anything, it means you're not with the government."

He added:

belong to the CDR."

tion, a network of neighborhood Communist party. vigilantes whose chief job is to watch out for "enemies" of the revolution.

"You should consider us an organization that is dedicated to fellow factory or farmhands. the education and persuasion of the masses," Huge Rodriquez, "AT A MASS meeting," my block's CDR. CDR chief, explained. This guide explained, "someone gets block's CDR. citizen's army with more than 4 million members has 68,000 posts - as Rodriquez explained, "one on each block, between children." about every four of five houses.'

THE CDR is the center of a web of interlocking groups minute information on all aspects of an individual's personal and public life and the "proper" authorities.

backside when she's not looking,| the justices of the "people's" courts will conduct a thorough investigation into your background, with the generous help of the CDR. To advance in Cuban society, membership is practicaly indispensable.

You can't become "Vanguard" worker unless you belong to the CDR. "It helps if you are a faithful CDR member because it means you are 'integrated' with the revolution,'

tional holidays.

member of something. Of member of the highly selective course, it's not compulsory," my Communist party unless you've

"Of course, if you're a good CDR worker it helps you obtain television sets, refrigerators, "At the very least you can electric mixers and so on," Rodriquez said. Not surpris-The CDR - Committee for the ingly, the largest number of Defense of the Revolution is prized consumer goods belong to Cuba's largest mass organiza- the 250,000 members of the of life to me when an old woman

> The first step in the competition for scarce material goods or a new apartment is to be chosen an "exemplary" worker by your

one else will get up and say, 'No, he's left his wife and soon left. After the disappeared, doesn't give a damn about his my friend explained that she

forth and then they vote on it. If that he had been seen talking to accepted, he's got his foot on the a foreigner. bottom rung of a ladder, quite a designed to have up-to-the- long ladder that can end up in the coordinator may have some the Communist party and extra potatoes to distribute for beyond,"he explained.

prepared to share that informal he went on, "they start a minute potatoes despite the fact she tion on a moment's notice with investigation into every aspect never cleaned a street in her of his character. I remember a life. If you get into trouble with the chap who was wounded in the law, or even pinch a neighbor's defense against the Bay of Pigs invasion but never did anything Rodriquez, the CDR chief. He else patriotic.

> red. They delve into received extra potatoes or everything."

He didn't make it.

officially, the 'CDR has official tries and official tries to intimidate other tasks beside collecting and furnishing information as required. It organizes monthly "study circles" where speeches by Fidel Castro, Cuban history or domestic problems are homes. or domestic problems are homes. in Addition to other benefits such as free homes and food, "Vanguard" workers receive 160 per cent of their salaries after Arationary and while on sick leave.

discussed. It organizes mass a true revolutionary household term would have been no problem," he went on. "But obviously if you visit someone with counter-revolutionary tendential would have been no problem," he went on. "But obviously if you visit someone with counter-revolutionary tendential with the counter-revolutionary tenden discussed. It organizes mass

These may range from cleaning streets (the most effective CDR campaign) to making thousands of Vietnamese hats to honoring Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, Victoong delegate to the Paris peace talks, during her recent;

The CDR moto: "All those who believe in the revolution should be ready to defend the revolution." In practice, it sometimes works out that the defenders become overzealous.

-FOR EXAMPLE, a Cuban was quietly describing conditions. who lived upstairs suddenly burst into the apartment. 'SSSHHHHH," the Cuban burst into cautioned mc, whispering "Chiva! Chiva!" Chiva means! "stool pigeon" or spy — in this case, she was head of the

The old woman said she had come to borrow some sugar and "The arguments go back and regional CDR "Coordinator"

At the end of the month, when the best CDR "street cleaner," "Once somebody's proposed," the old woman would get the

I RAISED this incident with expressed amazement that such "Once it's thrown open, a thing could be going on, denythere's absolutely no holds baranything else to distribute to good workers.

"The CDR is not a organiza-

"If you had made that visit to

Then my guide chimed in, "The only people afraid of the CFR are the ones who should be

TWELVE YEARS after the revolution, Cuba is still scared. My guide told the story of Major Rolando Cubelas, who had a high post in the Cuban army but, according to my informant, "came under the influence of t the CIA."

Cubelas hatched a plot to assassinate Castro, the guide recounted, but Fidel found out about it and sent for him. But Cubelas didn't heed the advice and eventualy was condemned to 30 years in prison.

"Most people in Cuba believe this guy should have been shot but Fidel himself sent a letter to the court asking for elemency," he said.

"There were a lot of counterrevolutionaries and acts of; sabotage at factories. That's why we had to create the militia," he said.

ALL MALE, healthy Cubans between ages 18 and 45 regardless of their previous military experience - are required to spend one day a week, one Sunday a month and two weeks every summer in "combat preparedness" drills.

"We have wiped out several coup attempts and counterrevolutionary behavior but that doesn't mean they don't exist or won't start up again if we dismiss these popular forces," my gude said. "This country is constantly under attack, first from the Yankee imperialists and then from counterrevolutionaries."

Organized dissent is practically nonexistent. Up to three years ago, security police in Cuba reserved the right to break into anyone's home and search; it without a warrant. You can still be shot for sabotage, murder, serious sex crimes or simply accumulating many criminal offenses.

continued

26 SEP 1972

#### Hijackers Want to Quit Cuba, Visitor Reports

Some Are Negotiating Through Swiss for Return to U.S., Lay Preacher Says

MIAMI (n)—A self-styled American missionary who took a lone sea voyage to Cuba sceking "practical experience in socialism" said a number of airplane hijackers were negotiating their return to the United States

Les Cooper, 49, a bearded lay preacher who works in a Key West, Fla., boatyard, sailed his 20-foot cabin cruiser to the Communist island Aug. 29, hoping for a temporary stay and further passage to Algeria and the Middle East:

But he said in an interview he was greeted with extreme suspicion, investigated as a possible CIA agent, thrown into dungeon-like cells and a mental hospital. He said he was finally refused further assistance and sent back where he came from in his ill-equipped and damaged boat.

#### Saved by Freighter

He was rescued by a passing German freighter in the Florida Strait Sept. 20 and brought into Miami by the Coast Guard.

While being shuttled from intelligence agency jails to the mental hospital and other detention quarters in Havana, Cooper said, he spent some time at "Hijack House," where most of the airplane hijackers who sought asylum in Cuba live.

"Most are fed up with conditions there," Cooper said. "They want to leave, even if it means taking their punishment in the United States. They are violently dissatisfied with their lives there. Some are negotiating through the

Swiss Embassy their return to this country."

Cooper said most of the hijackers, "including a group of black revolutionaries from the United States," have jobs paying them about \$90 a month. They are fed and housed in dormitory-like rooms.

He said the blacks appeared to be "more comfortably adjusted, and there is a girl there who has given birth to two babies since she's been there .... So you know they've been there for some time."

Cooper said the hijackers included a young Puerto Rican from New York named Jaime and a 55-year-old man who told him he had been a bridge tender in New York City until "all of a sudden he just jumped into a plane and without any weapons hijacked it."

Also among the hijackers were a Canadian who used to be a pilot for the "Free Quebec Movement" and a woman from California named Dorothy Johnson, who went to Cuba from Nicaragua.

#### Expects to Return

He said the woman told him she had been shot in the head and had been in and out of hospitals for a number of years. She expects to return to the United States soon after negotiating with the Swiss Embassy, which represents the United States in Cuba, Cooper said.

Also among the hijackers he talked with, Cooper said, were two Americans who forced a small plane to fly to Cuba from Jamaica and a man who kidnaped a Puerto Rican businessmen for \$290,000

Havana Radio announced April 12 that the ransom money was taken from Jose Luis Lugo Rodriguez, charged by the FBI in San Juan with kidnaping bank executive Jose Luis: Carrion. The small plane was allowed to return to Puerto Rico with the two pilots and the bank executive. Lugo Rodriguez remained behind in Cuba.

negotiating through the Approved For Releases 2001/03/04: CIA-RDP80-01601R000500030001-6

# Joil, Brutolity, Terror Await Hijackers in Cuba

News American Washington Bureau

Sweaty black hoods and numbing injections, midnight terror rides, guards emptying their pistols into occupied cells, a prison riot in which 20 people are killed and suicide themselves. attempts - one successful, the son of a Chicago television producer - and a nearmiss while I was in Havana.

This is the nightmare world that may await the next American hijacker of a plane to Cuba. It is not the rule. If he is lucky the hijacker will spend only a few weeks or months behind bars before being moved to his permanent home, a light-blue, two-story

Editor's Note: What has happened to the Americans who hijacked planes to Havana? During a month in Cuba, correspondent Wallach met secretly with some of the hijackers. They tell their story in their own words in this, the first of 12 exclusive articles.

house in suburban Siboney, the "Casa de Transitos" or "hijackers house."

It is kept under round-the-clock guard by Cuban Army lieutenants. Twenty or about one-third of the American hijackers are there. They are not permitted to get work. Instead, they are given monthly allowances of 40 pesos (about \$40), and two-hour "passes" when they want to go out.

The story of the skyjackers plight was revealed to this correspondent in a series of high-secret and potentially dangerous midnight meetings in a Havana park. Those who risked their lives to relate this tale of hardship were men who said they had suffered terrible torment and travail while interned in Castro's Cuba.

A handful of deeply motivated hijackers have adjusted to the hardships of life in Cuba and are completely free. One of them is teaching at the University of Havana.

Six are in mental hospitals and the remaining twenty-five are in prison.

given the chance. Several of the hijackers told this correspondent they would gladly exchange life sentences in the United States for their lives in Cuba. In the United States, they said, there always is the possibility of parole.

They said if their story were told in the states there would never be another hijacking to Cuba. But for its own reasons the Cucorrespondents.

Perry, Tom Davis and Raymond Johnson.

To protect their lives, the following

dents of mistreatment discovered by this correspondent, are not attributed to them individually. By no means has such mistreatment been suffered by all hijackers residing in Cuba.

This is the story as told by the hijackers.

• The welcome. It is always the same. "Many hijackers think they'll put the gun back in your pocket, slap you on the back and say 'Come on, friends. Let's go see Ha-

Instead, the reception committee is composed of Soviet-built armored cars and jeeps manned by dozens of Cuban soldiers aiming restricted from visiting his friends because AK-47s at the plane.

"They took me to a prison, threw me in a rell and for three days I didn't see anyone. 'They took everything from me, from my comb to my underpants. In return, they gave me overails that were three times too big and linen slippers.

"The first few weeks were the hardest because they always said tomorrow or a couple of more days and you'll be free. This couple of days became a couple of weeks. This couple of weeks became a couple of months and I became nervous and more and more depressed.

"When I found out there were other Americans who were there for eight months; nine months, a year and a half, I really got scared. I said, 'Man, you really asked for

"They took us first to the airport police department and from there the secret service took us to the G2 department where I was interrogated for six months. After those six months they took me for eight months to Principe prison. After those eight months, they took me to the Isle of Pines for hard

"After seven months of hard labor, they Almost all of them would come home if look me back to Havana to the G2 security prison for five months. After those five months they tried to dump me off a freighter in Europe but no socialist country would accept me. Three months later, they brought me back to Cuba. For almost two years and two months after that, I was in a police jail." Total: four years and seven months.

The prison riot. October 10, 1968. ban government won't let them go. The hi- Principe prison. "Guards started beating up jackers are instructed not to talk to foreign eight, ten, twelve-year-old children in the · main yard. They were using machetes. That Four Americans went back to prison while was too much. I got fed up and yelled, "You I was in Havana: Luis Fresco, Lester homosexuals." That's what started it. For three days we were in complete control of

the prison. "Toll: 20 dead, including three Cuban policemen; 70 wounded.

The suicides. Name: Hank Baron. Age: 17. Home: Indianapolis. Hijacked Eastern Airlines 727 jet on July 29, 1969. Jumped off Hotel Naional in Havana on February 8, 1971. Recollections of a hijacker who was with Hank the day before he died:

"He was very unhappy. He wrote letters to his mother but never received any answer. He said he was sure his mother and father loved him but couldn't understand why they hadn't answered his letters. He tried to be a revolutionary but this revolution was entirely different from what he believed it would be.

"He couldn't eat his food. He was he was told they were not true revolutionaries. He had to keep his mouth shut when he felt like saying something to the Cuban officials because he knew that if he told them what he really thought he would go back to the security prison.

'He was not afraid of the guards. Afraid is not the word for Hank. Hank never was in prison in his life and he was only 17 years old. All his life he lived good. He came to Cuba because he had that sensitive feeling for humanity. I told him your place is not here in Cuba. Your place is in the Peace

"He said, 'But I love Che Guevarra.' I said, 'But maybe Che Guevarra had different ideas from those people now running Cuba.' He said, 'Now I know for sure that Che Guevarra and these people represent two entirely different ideals."

"Nobody was allowed to leave prison with a pass for the funeral. We were told they were expecting some big-wig visitors from national immigration. A few days later we found out what the reason was. Hank had committed suicide."

John Peabody tried seven times to commit suicide, all of them unsuccessful, one of the hijackers disclosed. He tried by dropping out of his prison bunk, head first onto the cement floor. "Oh, he got a couple of concussions and fractured his skull once but he never died. 'You think they will kill us?,' he used to ask me. 'Just once more, I'd like to eat chocolate cake'."

While this correspondent was in Havana, another hijacker — a 30-year-old black American with a nervous disorder jumped off a six-story building after an argument with his wife. He lived, paralyzed from the neck down, was operated on and swiftly moved back to his original prison cell. His name is being withheld because of uncertainty about whether his family has been informed.

quotes, regarding the most frightening inci-

STATINTL

#### Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R00050003000

UNIVERSITY of CALIFORNIA PRESS FALL BOOKS 1972

The Rise and Decline of Fidel Castro

Maurice Halperin

The author of this unusual book was twice forced out of teaching positions at American universities because of his political beliefs. He spent three years on the faculty of the USSR Academy of Sciences and five years, from 1962 to 1968, at the University of Havana. He went to Cuba in 1962 on the invitation of Che Guevara, who had visited him in Moscow, and there gathered the materials for this intimate portrait of the Castro regime.

Mr. Halperin concentrates his attention on Castro's foreign policy, placing it in the context of domestic policy and conditions. Obviously skilled in reading the new socialist rhetoric, Professor Halperin guides the reader through the maze of documents, speeches, and propaganda which constitute the record of the Castro regime during the sensational events involving Kennedy, Khrushchev, missiles, and the CIA. Although the main narrative is concerned with the years 1959-1964—primarily the period of the rise of Fidel Castro—it contains digressions into events of the following years when, according to the auth-

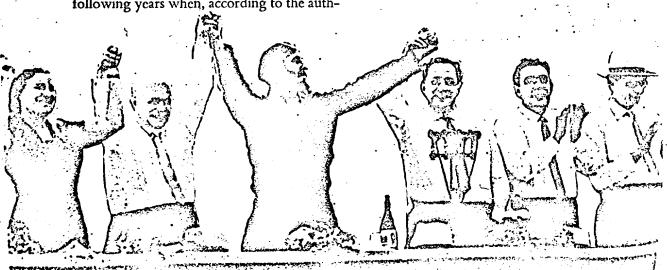
or, Castro's great utopian dreams turned into nightmares. A second volume, carrying the story down to the present, is in preparation.

Maurice Halperin is Professor of Political Science at Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, B.C.

"A brilliant contribution to the literature on contemporary Cuba and perhaps even more a remarkable series of insights into the new politics of mass society."

–Woodrow Borah

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LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES / POLITICAL SCIENCE / HISTORY
World £4.95 \$10.95



#### U.S. Warships Protecting Anti-Castro By MERWIN K. SIGALE anamanian

Special to The Star

MIAMI - U.S. warships on dutý in international waters near Cuba are giving special protection to several Panamanian-flag cargo vessels of a shipping line run by anti-Castro Cuban exiles.

The situation stems from instrucitons issued in December and February to U.S. naval commanders in the Caribbean to protect merchant ships of friendly nations, by force if necessary, against attack or seizure by the Cuban navy.

High-level sources said Navy warships assigned to carry out the Pentagon's orders have mounted a special watch on ships of the Bahamas Line, owner of two cargo vessels selzed by Cuban subchasers Dec. 5 and 15 in the lower Bahamas, about 120 miles northeast of Cuba.

#### Only Bahamas Line

The orders, first revealed in press reports last month, call for U.S. protection of a threatened merchantman of a friendly country, under specified conditions.

But in practice, the sources disclosed, close surveillance is maintained only for Bahamas Line vessels, with U.S. ships going out to keep a watch on them as they pass through sensitive areas near Cuba, sometimes keeping them in sight for hours.

Apparently it is assumed that those vessels — Omar Express, William Express, Jose Express and Lincoln Express — would be prime targets if Premier Fidel Castro chose to go after another ship.

Castro charged that the captured ships, the Layla Express and the Johnny Express, had served the U.S. CIA on previous voyages by landing guerrillas and arms in Cuba.

The Bahamas Line is a Panamanian corporation, and its ships fly the flag of Panama. The firm has an operations office in Miami, headed by Teofilo Babun, one of a family known for support of anti-Castro exile movements.

#### Freedom of the Seas

Babun said he did not ask the Navy for special protection. "They patrol the waters generally, not especially for us," he said.

"We are not providing protection to any one specific line." He also said that policy statements by the State and Defense Departments last December still prevail.

At that time, a State Department spokesman said the government would "take all measures under international law to protect U.S. citizens and the freedom of the seas against these attacks in this area.

The Pentagon ordered air and sea patrols and followed up in February with orders for U.S. warships to interpose themsevles between Cuban attackers and merchant ships threatened with seizure.

Regarding implementation of the policy, however, sources in a position to know said that U.S. warships patrol intermittently, with foreknowledge of the itineries of Bahamas Line/ ships.

The patrols operate mainly in the Windward Passage, a channel about 55 miles wide between Cuba and Haiti, and in waters just north and southwest of the passage. Bahamas Line vessels often transit the passage on cargo runs between Miami and the Dominican Republic and Haiti.

A 165-foot patrol gunboat based at Little Creek, Va., is currently on surveillance duty, operating from the U.S. Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, near the Windward Passage. A fulltime destroyer patrol announced Dec. 28 by Atlantic Fleet headquarters in Norfolk has been quietly terminated. Now, a source said, destroyers training at Quantanamo are assigned to patrol as' needed.

#### More Easterly Route

The operation is directed by the commander of the Navy's Caribbean Sea Frontier in San Juan, Puerto Rico. He reportedly acts on information on the whereabouts of Bahamas Line ships obtained from the Coast Guard in Miami and U.S. military attaches in Santo Domingo and Port-au-Prince.

Since the December incidents, the remaining Bahamas Line vessels have taken a more easterly route around the lower Bahamas, farther away from Cuba. In one in-A Pentagon spokesman, away from Cuba. In one in-asked about the Approximated Por Refease 2001/03/04: CIA-RDP80-01601R000500030001-6

of a vessel under charter to the Bahamas Line was said to have followed the old route along the western Bahamas chain despite warnings from chagrined Navy commanders.

#### U.S. Citizen Aboard

The sources said that since the U.S. policy was announced in December, Cuban patrol boats have made no menacing forays and have seldom ventured far from home.

Castro, in a speech Dec. 22, said Cuba guarantees safe passage for all ships in international waters but reserves the right to pursue any "pirate" ship that has taken part in actions against Cuba.

Cuba is still holding the captured vessels, along with the captain of the Johnny Express, Jose Villa of Hialeah, Fla., and three crew mem-bers. There has been no announcement of a trial or sentencing. The 24 other crewmen were repatriated.

Villa was the only American citizen in the group, and his plight was a factor in the U.S. government's decision to act.

Sources verified that one of the conditions for a U.S. warship to move against any future seizure attempt is that the American commander at the scene must have reason to believe a U.S. citizen is aboard the threatened vessel.

Whether U.S. citizens are actually aboard the Bahamas Line ships is unclear.

The other conditions for U.S. action are that the threatened ship must be in international waters-at least three miles from Cuba-and that the U.S. commander have no knowledge that the endangered vessel is engaged in illegal activities against Cuba.

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# For Cuban Linguist, A Path to Norfolk

#### By ETHEL A. STEADMAN

Virginian-Pilot Staff Writer.

NORFOLK—Juan Gonzalez, at one time the youngest officer in the Cuban navy, a man forced to quit a flourishing private law practice in Havana to work for the state, now teaches Spanish in Murfreesboro, N.C.

He fled Communist Cuba by way of Spain in 1968, eight years after first seeking permission to leave his homeland. Not quite two years ago, he migrated to this country to end an odyssey that took him to Portugal, Canada, Mexico, and Puerto Rico en route.

Gonzalez hopes his long journey will end in Norfolk. He plans to open a language school and translation service here this summer.

Once, for three months in the summer of 1943, a Cuban navy vessel to which Gonzalez was attached stopped over in Hampton Roads, he recalled recently.

Gonzalez brought his wife and four children out of Cuba with him. (They now have six youngsters, two boys and four girls.) His mother and other relatives were left behind. He has heard nothing from his mother in two years, and repeated attempts to telephone her have met with failure, he said.

Gonzalez' experience as a refugee is no worse than that of thousands of his countrymen, no doubt. He was a well-to-do man of stature in his community who, now 46, must begin again.

He looks forward to becoming an American citizen in about a year.

"The only country free in the world is the United States," Gonzalez declared.

Communist sympathizers disturb him.

"You learn only when the communists are in your country," he said, and then often it is too late.

Youths between 15 and 27 years of age aren't allowed to leave Cuba under the Castro regime, Gonzalez said. They, and younger

He remembers a night during which 285 people were liquidated.

He described life in Havana, even for a man of his standing — personal acquaintance of Fidel Castro, naval officer, and lawyer — as one of harassmentand constant surveillance.

'In the Communist system, you don't have friends," Gonzalez said.

Neighbors are spies, and the state is omnipotent.

He once was accused of being an agent for the Central Intelligence Agency simply because he handled some legal work for an A merican sailor stationed at Guantanamo Bay, who married a Cuban, Gonzalez said. He chuckled at the thought.

Gonzalez was forced to leave with the Cuban government all his possessions, even the rings he and his wife wore, when they fled.

At the height of his law practice, Gonzalez was earning the equivalent of between \$4,000 and \$5,000 a month, he said, and had a bank balance of nearly \$125,000.

He and Castro were in law school together in the late 40s, Gonzalez said. He recalled Castro as a poor student.

In 1959, soon after the Castro takeover in Cuba, Castro called Gonzalez and asked him to join the new government, the refugee said. When he was less than enthusiastic, it became apparent that he wasn' being asked, but told, said Gonzalez.

The year he left—1968—steak was selling for \$12 a cut and coffee was rationed at one-half ounce per person weekly. Cubans were



Gonzalez

permitted two boxes of cigarettes, 16 to the box, and one pound of butter a month.

Children from 1 to 7 years old got one can of milk a week, as did Cubans 65 and over, Gonzalez said.

Government workers were allotted one pair of shoes a year and eight gallons of gasoline a month—if they were lucky enough to have a car. Few were, he added.

Gonzalez, who claims to hold three master's degrees and three doctorates, taught himself English after arriving in Boone, N.C., to attend a language institute at Appalachian State University, he said.

Gonzales was teaching school in Puerto Rico when he saw an advertisement in a newspaper for teaching positions in North Carolina, he said. That's how he happened onto Murfreesboro.

He plans to t e a c h Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian at the Norfolk Academy of Languages to open June 1 in the Monticello Arcade.

He also will provide a translation service, private tutoring, and courses in English for the foreign-born. Another teacher will give classes in French and German, Gonzalez said.

Cubans, are the target of mass release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R000500030001-6

# U.S. Writer Spends 3 Months in Cuban Jail

STATINTL

By Terri Shaw

Washington Post Staff Writer

Last Christmas Day, Zuban authorities arrested Frank McDonald, a 30-yearold American writer who had spent the previous seven months as a guest lecturer at the University of Havana, and charged him told that he faced a possible 30-year prison sentence.

A Caribbean specialist, McDonald had spent two months in Cuba the previous year and written articles about the country under a fellowship. During that earlier stay, he had interviewed many Cubans with the aim of writing a book contrasting Cuba with the rest of the Caribbean and assessing U.S. influence in the region.

McDonald said he believes that he was detained because the Cuban Department of State Security became suspicious of his information-gathering activities, and that he was eventually re-leased—after three months in solitary confinement-hecause investigations turned up no evidence that he was

During his months in prison, he said, "I had to believe the truth would free me. I really believed the revolution would make a fair judgment. I think I was dealt with in a just way."

The charge of spying was dropped before his release, McDonald said, but he was deported and his notes were confiscated because, he was told, he had violated a ban on "socio-political studies."

A State Department official familiar with the cases of Americans who have gotten into trouble in Cuba said he knew of no other ease like McDonald's-that is, of a person who entered with a Cuban visa and who later was arrested.

The official said that nine U.S. citizens convicted of political crimes, such as at-

tempted invasions of the island, are presently in jail in Cuba. There are also six North Americans convicted of narcotics offenses and an unknown number of hijack-

He added that efforts had Havana, and charged him been made, through the with spying. McDonald was Swiss embassy, which handles U.S. affairs in Cuba, to locate McDonald while he was in prison. The efforts were fruitless until the day after McDonald was reers in Cuban jails, he said. leased, when the Ministry of Foreign Affairs told the embassy that he had been held for questioning.

> McDonald said his captors used "no physical intimidation."

"The only time anyone touched me," he added, "was the day my interrogator told me I would be freed. He led me out the door of the interrogation room and patted me on the back.

"I suspected that there was a regulation against touching the prisoners, and before I left I asked my interrogator about that, and he confirmed it," McDonald

Th worst aspect of his imprisonment, McDonald said, was the fear that he would not be released.

"My interrogator told me that they knew I was a spy and could prove it," McDonald said. "He said if I confessed, the revolution would make it easy for me. I would go to a penal farm, maybe for 15 years, instead of 30 years in prison.

#### Typical Police' Move -

"I knew it was typical police procedure," McDonald added. "He was frightening the hell out of me to get me to tell the truth."

.McDonald said the interrogator, a 26-year-old lieutenant, became very important to him - "he was responsible for my life." The Spanish-language interrogation sessions, which last-

ed 40 to 60 minutes every other day, were all McDonald had to look forward to-"the highlight of the week."

Aside from the session of "close, hard questioning," life in prison was monotonous, McDonald said. ..

His day began at 5 a.m. went on. Soon, guards brought brooms, mops and cleaned the floor of his 8by-10-foot cell.

There was a spigot with a hole in the floor in a corner for use as a toilet and, in the ceiling above it, a waterspout for showers. He slept on a "typical prison bunk' attached to the wall with chains.

#### Prison Meals

At 7 a.m. breakfast-two rolls-was brought to the prisoners.

The two other meals of the day, served at 11 a.m. and 5 p.m., were served in trays with three sections. One section always contained rice prepared in different ways-"fried, boiled, mixed with beans, cooked with batter." Another section contained soup. The third contained either an egg or fish dish or some-thing sweet, like rice pudding or fruit preserve.

"On the very best days we'd get a whole fried fish, McDonald said.

"It was pretty much what the average Cuban ate, although not quite as good," he added.

McDonald spent the days walking up and down his cell. He calculate that he walked 10 miles a day from 5 a.m. to 5:30 p.m., when he

went to bed. "My program was 12 hours

up, 12 hours down," he said. While lying in bed, the prisoner watched the changing patterns of sun and shadow on a cement overhang that blocked the view from

the one window in his cell.

"The bumps on the cement made the shadows look like a mountain range, so I imagined that it was the Sierra Nevada in California," he said.

No Reading or Talking

He had no reading matter, and was not allowed to comwhen a light above the door municate with anyone on the outside. He kept track of the passage of days by makdisinfectant, and McDonald ing marks on the stucco wall with a spoon.

During the first three weeks of his detention, Mcdrinking water in the cell, Donald said, he was "closely questioned about my activities in Cuba and past associations." For the next 22 days he did not see his interrogator.

"I think that 22-day period was critical," he said. "I think they were trying to determine whether I was telling the truth. I was afraid that somehow they might make a mistake and decide I was guilty. But I knew they didn't have any proof. They had all my notes. I had hidden nothing."

On the 50th day of his imprisonment, McDonald was taken to is interrogator.

"First he asked, as always, how I was. Then he asked, 'Do you miss anything?'

"I answered, 'the street,' meaning freedom.

#### Asked for Yogurt

"He asked if there was anything else. For some reason I thought of yogurt. " 'With or without sugar?'

he asked.

"I answered, 'With sugar.' From that day on twice a day I got a big jug of yogurt with that good, brown cane sugar.

"From then on I felt they didn't think I was a spy. I was moved to a better cell with two beds pushed together and a chair. A guard gave me a book. The whole tone of the questioning changed. He didn't call me

continued

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#### Approved For Release 2001/03/04: CIA-RDP80-016 16 APR 1972

U.S. and Cuba:

#### Nixon Pursues A Tough Policy

WASHINGTON-"This is the policeman-of-the-world concept," Representative Dante B. Fascell said last week. "I don't know of any third countries that have asked for our naval protection in the Caribbean."

Mr. Fascell, a Florida Democrat, is chairman of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Latin America. What he was referring to was a recent secret order from President Nixon that the United States Navy was to "interpose" its ships, at the risk of fighting, between Cuban warships and merchant vessels of friendly countries in danger of being apprehended.

The new order, disclosed on Wednesday by The Wall Street Journal in a dispatch from Puerto Rico, United States naval headquarters in the Caribbean, stemmed from a shadowy incident last October when the Aquarius II, a merchantman of Panamanian registry, took part in the shelling of the Cuban coastal town of Sama. The vessel, based in Miami, is owned by Jose de la Torriente, a Cuban exile.

Cuba claimed that several civilians had been wounded, and on its return to Florida, the Aquarius II was "seized" by United States authorities.

During the incident, Cuban jets had photographed the Aquarius II. And in December, Cuban gunboats went into the Caribbean and forced back to Cuba two more Panamanian-flag merchantmen: the Lyla Express on Dec. 5 and also were Miami-based vessels of Panafour brothers named Babun, Cuban exiles of Lebanese origin.

the photographs and confused the 109,000 have become voters. Aquarius II with the Express ships, or whether they had proof, as they claimed, that the Express ships had Central Intelligence Agency, is unclear. The Babun brothers and the State Department both denied C.I.A. involvement.

Cuban seizure of the Johnny Express, 100 miles from Cuban waters in the Bahamas, involved the wounding of the skipper, Capt. Jose Villa, a Cuban exile and a naturalized American citizen. The White House condemned Cuba's "unconscionable" behavior.

The tension continued to mount. Cuba said she would have no compunction about attacking vessels under American but other ships in the Carib- lately, Jamaica. bean from Cuban interference. Since then there have been no further Cuban seizures.

Congress has now begun to demand more information. Apparently the new Nixon rules permit a United States Navy skipper to risk a fight with a Cuban warship menacing a "friendly" merchantman if the skipper has "no knowledge" that the merchantman has been involved in C.I.A.-type activities around Cuba, or if he believes there are American citizens aboard. He must "take the word" of the merchant captain-even though the latter may turn out to be a Cuban exile or other national anxious to involve the United States in a gunfight with Premier Fidel Castro's regime.

If, however, a Soviet warship hoves in sight ready to aid its Cuban ally, the American skipper must radio Atlantic Fleet headquarters in Norfolk, Va., and await instructions.

The new Nixon rules of engagement, issued without consultation with Congress, seemed to leave many things unclear except for their obvious political impact.

The Foreign Ministers of the Organization of American States met here last week and the United States plainly was daunting Premier Castro and his sympathizers and heartening its own hemisphere supporters. The Administration was obviously tolerating no "nonsense" from Cuba, 90 miles from the Johnny Express on Dec. 15. Both Florida geographically but, this being an election year, much closer politimanian registry, owned this time by cally. President Nixon's aggressiveness was presumably not being lost on the 600,000 anti-Castro Cuban exiles living Whether Cuban authorities compared in the United States, of whom nearly

Representative Fascell, whose constituency includes many Cuban exiles, said that "this is the sort of issue we landed and removed agents for the should be taking up here with the O.A.S. Foreign Ministers." But there seemed little likelihood the Administration would show anything but hostility toward Cuba-at least until after the November elections.

Secretary of State William P. Rogers said as much in time-hallowed phrases to the Foreign Ministers last week. Cuba is still a "menace" to hemisphere security; Cuba is still "exporting" revolution; Cuba is still "subverting" its neighbors; Cuba is still maintaining "close and active" military ties with the Soviet Union.

If Premier Castro changed his poli-"any flag or camouflage" working for cies, Mr. Rogers told the meeting, the the C.I.A. and carrying out "counter United States would act to lift sancrevolutionary" activities in Cuban wa- tions—but only in concert with "all" ters. The State Department announced the O.A.S. members. His aim clearly that henceforth the Nixon Administra- was to block individual Latin states tion would take "all measures under from re-establishing bilateral relations international law" to protect not only with Cuba, as have Mexico, Chile and,

-BENJAMIN WELLES

#### American Is Home After Being Jailed In Cuba as a Spy

A freelance journalist who went to Cuba last year under the auspices of the Institute of Current World Affairs has returned to New York after being held in solitary configuration. held in solitary confinement for 92 days as a suspected spy.
On Christmas Day, after hav-

on Christmas Day, after having spent seven months in Cuba lecturing at the University of Havana and gathering notes for a book, the journalist, Frank McDonald, was arrested and charged with being an agent for the Central Intelligence Appency

for the Central Intelligence Agency.

He spent the next three months in solitary confinement, broken up only by what he called several sessions of "close questioning." He was not mistreated, he says, although he lost about 30 pounds.

"I was put through a pretty intensive investigation, and when it was finished they knew pretty much all about me," he

Still, the guards and authorities "were not antagonistic toward me and it was probably

better than some of the prisons we have here," he said.

Mr. McDonald, 30 years old, has been a fellow of the institute, at 535 Fifth Avenue, for four years energizing in the four years specializing in the Caribbean. During that time he has written a number of arti-cles on the Caribbean; has contributed to the institute a news-

letter on the area, and has co-author of a book.

In 1970, at the invitation of the University of Havana, he spent two months in Cuba, and had no trouble with the authorities.

authorities.
"This time, I guess they were worried about the notes I was taking," he said. "I interviewed some officials and a lot of people I met."

After he was released from jail he was flown to Spain. He then went to London for a week before returning here on April 7.

April 7.



#### Programming war on Cuba

The Nixon administration issued secret orders to the U.S. Navy in February to protect Central Intelligence Agency privateers raiding Cuba. If necessary, the Navy was to provoke an armed attack on Cuban vessels protecting the socialist island from invasion.

That is the essence of the revelations published by the Wall Street Journal on Thursday and by the New York Times yesterday.

The revelations disclose that orders went from the White House to Defense Secretary Melvin Laird to the Joint Chiefs of Staff to Admiral Charles Duncan, Norfolk, Va.. to the Caribbean commands of the U.S. Navy. The plans call for joint naval and air action in support of counter-revolutionary vessels flying third country flags.

These orders were issued following the seizure of the Lyla Express on Dec 5, and the Johnny Express after an armed clash on Dec. 15. Both ships, operating under Panamanian registry out of Miami, have been conducting armed reconnaisance for the Central Intelligence Agency.

The "Special Rules of Engagement for the Caribbean," spell out the steps to be undertaken to provoke an armed clash.

The U.S. commanders are ordered to "interpose" their ships between the Cuban government vessels and the CIA pirate craft flying third country flags. U.S. Air Force jets are to threaten the Cuban vessels.

The U.S. vessels would then attack in the name of "self-defense." As revealed by the Wall Street Journal, they would "continue interposing until further Cuban aggression creates a situation of self-defense for U.S. forces."

The programming of armed U.S. attack on Cuban vessels has been undertaken without even the excuse of a request from any third country. Rep. Dante Fascell, conservative chairman of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Latin America. has revealed. "I know of no pending request for such protection by any third country." he said.

U.S. warlike actions would be taken on the grounds that there was an American on board the third country vessel; but in the absence of any proof, the U.S. commander would take the word of the captain of the CIA pirate ship that there was an American on board and in danger.

The "Special Rules of Engagement for the Caribbean" provide, in short, for acts of war by U.S. forces without even seeking congressional approval.

The secret plans for attack point to the urgency of compelling the Nixon administration to recognize Cuba. to end the blockade and to open full trade and cultural relations. Meanwhile: Hands off Cuba and Cuban ships!

#### Approved For Release 2007 55 1972 PC A TOP 80-0

# A HUNDRED

activities purportedly aimed at undermining Cas- succeed. tro's power and inducing the Cuban people to turn on him and overthrow him.

taneously two policies that in practice cancel each Cuba in subjection to Communist rule. other out:

-Roll back Communist inroads in the Western Hemisphere;

-"Stabilize" the situation elsewhere by helping the Soviet Government maintain its grip both on the Russian people and on the countries of Eastern and Central Europe gobbled up by Stalin or otherwise occupied by the Red Army.

This second policy involves helping the Soviets control their personnel abroad-including in Ger-

many, in Egypt and in Cuba.

Nixon Administration spokesmen have striven to create the impression that the case of Simas Kudirka, the Lithuanian radio operator who was delivered by the U.S. Coast Guard to the Soviets, after a merciless beating, when he leaped for freedom from the Soviet trawler where he was employed on the deck of a U.S. vessel, was a unique, unfortunate case of this sort, due to "bad judgment" on the part of some officers.

Actually, however, there have been more than a hundred similar cases under the Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon Administrations, WO has learned from an unimpeachable source. And the only really unique thing about the case of Simas Kudirka is that the U.S. Government was not able

to keep it secret from the public.

Most of those other "Kudirka" cases have occurred, and are still occurring, in the waters around Cuba. There, Coast Guard and CIA units of every type are largely concerned with the mission to induce and assist defections from Fidel Castro-but not from the Soviet forces, some 20,000 in number, which are helping Castro keep his grip on the lush Caribbean island.

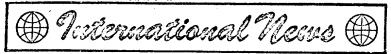
Officially, in confidential guidelines which the Nixon Administration still strives to keep secret from the American people—even though they are not secret to the Soviets who have been called to assist in their framing-the Coast Guard officers and the CIA operatives are told merely "not to encourage" defections of members of the Soviet personnel abroad, especially of military and naval personnel. In practice, however, and especially in

The Nixon Administration, as the context of the oral briefings which are also the Kennedy and Johnson given to key U.S. personnel, this means that the Administrations before it, is U.S. Forces and the other agents of the U.S. Govactually helping Fidel Castro ernment must see to it that no such defections do and his henchmen perpetuate the Communist rule occur, and to use "positive persuasion"-of the kind in Cuba-even while, on the other hand, spending that was meted out to Kudirka, if needs be-to billions of dollars, mainly through the C.I.A., on see that no attempted defection of this sort does

This is how the Nixon Administration, following the Kennedy-Johnson pattern down to the letter, It all happens as Washington pursues simul- winds up helping the Soviets help Castro keep

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6 APR 1972



#### Bombing work of CIA, Fidel says

HAVANA—Cuban Premier Fidel Castro charged yesterday that the bombing of the Cuban Trade Commission in Montreal early on Tuesday morning was the work of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Fidel also accused the Montreal police of "brutal, fascist methods" and said the police had beaten up Cuban personnel who survived the bomb blast, in which one Cuban security guard was killed and seven wounded.

Fidel spoke at the close of the Second Congress of the Young Communist League of Cuba. His speech was repeatedly interrupted by roars of approval from the YCL delegates. He said: "We have shown a great deal of patience in one day: first the bombing attack and on top of that, aggression by the police. After the bombing, the police used brutal, fascist methods." Fidel said the Montreal police used axes to smash their way into the Cuban offices, violated the Cuban personnel's diplomatic immunity by arresting them, and charged that "our comrades were beaten by the Canadian police at the police station."

The Cuban Premier said: "We have received reports on these serious and disgraceful events." He stressed that Canadian diplomatic personnel in Cuba were guaranteed safety by the Cuban people and government, and that Cuba "knows how to respect international laws and agreements."

connellsville, PA.
courier FEB 16 1972

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# Eye on Cuba

#### U.S. Warns Anti-Castro Exiles

By THEODORE A. EDIGER Copley News Service

MIAMI — Plotting against Cuban Premier Fidel Castro is going underground in Miami, the Cuban exile capital which has been a caldron of revolutionary intrigue.

The U.S. government is cracking down. The State Department's Cuban affairs office in Miami warned anti-Castro militants that plotters might be prosecuted for conspiracy to violate the U.S. neutrality act.

The warning came two months, after two Miami-based, exile-operated freighters, legitimately plying the Caribbean, at least at the time, were captured by Cuban gunboats in international waters. Cuban dictator Castro claimed the vessels were in the service of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

What triggered Castro's piracy was an exile hit-and-run raid on Boca de Sama, a northeast Cuban coast village, last October. Such forays against Cuba used to be commonplace, but that was the only one made, so far as known, during all of 1971.

Miamian Jose de la Torriente announced that commandos of an anti-Castro organization he heads made the attack. He claimed casualties inflicted were greater than acknowledged by Cuba. Havana radio said two were killed and four wounded. It demanded that something be done about Torriente.

Torriente said his expedition left from outside U.S. territery. Such disclaimers have been used for years by exile raiders seeking to evade the neutrality law. Many would hatch their plot in Miami, then proceed to some Caribbean islet to launch their attack.

The official Cuban radio, spouting tirades after the Boca de Sama affair, called Torriente a CIA agent.

A State Department official then summoned heads of some of the dwindling anti-Castro groups—there used to be hundreds—and literally laid down the law.

He read them a statement: "It has come to my attention that certain Cuban exile groups pretend to have the support of the U.S. government in their projected actions against the Cuban regime. I deny categorically, that this is true."

The spokesman reminded the exiles about the neutrality law and said it will be enforced to the hilt.

He said that even if a third country is used as a launching base for attack on Red China, exiles face prosecution if plans for the mission were made in the United States.

The spokesman recalled a similar warning issued in 1970. After that order, exile expeditions into Cuba fell off appreciably. So did refugee contributions to activist organizations.

Some of the newly summoned militant leaders said privately they would continue anti-Castro activity clandestinely.

Comment from Torriente, whose "Torriente Plan" to overthrow Castro has been shrouded in secrecy from the start, was not forthcoming.

A ship named Aquarius, said to have been used in the Boca de Sama foray, was seized by U.S. authorities after Castro's navy shanghaied the two freighters, similar to it in appearance.

Among those summoned on the State D-partment carpet was Andres Nazario, head of the militant Alpha 66 group, which repeatedly has infiltrated guerrillas into Euba only to have them wiped out. Nazario sighed: "They told me that even if we think anti-Castro thoughts, we might be violating the neutrality law."

The government position is

that piddling exile action can't topple Castro, but could damage U.S. diplomacy.

Exiles feel the United States should not interfere with their own anti-Castro efforts. They recall that President John F. Kennedy, who had the CIA train them for the Bay of Pigs, then dropped support of their invasion, promised veterans of that fracas in 1962 that their battle flag "will be restored to you in free Havana."

Yet U.S. authorities have stopped more than 50 exile raiding parties since 1963, confiscating arms and boats. There used to be a plotting den on nearly every corner of West-Flagler Street in Miami. Occasionally police would find an anti-Castro arsenal. In the nearby Everglades, guerrilla training proceeded daily.

Some anti-Castro organizations still remain, but offices of most have closed. One group, Réalist Nationalism, continues weekly training for exiles at its Flagler Street headquarters. Most of the once numerous fulltime anti-Castro leaders in Miami have found jobs ranging from selling used cars to running fruit stands.

Although Castro claims repeatedly that the United States permits exiles to war against him with impunity, this is not quite true.

Two are serving time in federal prison.

Rolando Masferrer, known as "the Tiger" in pre-Castro Cuba, is completing a four-year term. He tried to lead a ragtag army from the Florida Keys to Haiti to overthrow the late dictator Francois Duvalier. Haiti was to have been a springboard for a Cuba invasion.

Orlando Bosch, one of the most militant exiles of all, is serving 10 years for firing a bazooka at a Polish ship in Miami harbor. He was waging war against shipping to Cuba.

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# Leftist

By Renee Blakkan Guardian staff correspondent Last of two articles

Havana, Cuba

A month-long conference between 22 U.S. radical reporters and Cuban journalists concluded here recently on a note of mutual cooperation.

The meeting was sponsored by Juventud Rebelde (Rebel Youth), organ of the Cuban Communist Youth (UJC) and the country's national afternoon paper.

On a practical level, the U.S. reporters recognized the importance of sending their papers regularly and quickly to Cuba (where Time, Life and Newsweek nearly always arrive on schedule) and the Cubans agreed to send their papers and magazines to radical papers in the U.S.

The Americans also learned, from touring and discussions in different parts of the country, of Cuba's militant anti-imperialist stand; its dedication to revolution in all of Latin America; its concern about the lack of unity in the U.S. movement; its tremendous struggle against cultural and economic underdevelopment.

The Americans also studied the Cuban press and the role of a revolutionary press in power.

The major task of the Cuban papers today, said Vergara, sub-director of Juventud Rebelde, is to raise the cultural level of the reporters. Many Guerra, director of Bohemia, is still a skilled journalists left Cuba after the revolution and many others who stayed **could** not identify with the revolution. Therefore comrades who represented the people and who supported the has had to follow all the rules of papers revolution, but whose cultural level representing countries at war. This combat press knows the struggle is was not necessarily very high, had to means, he said, that the Cuban press international," it said. take on the task of reporting.

reporters who lacked a high school would be to give a handle to the education raise themselves to that enemies of the country, he said. level by taking Approved For the lease 2001/03/04: CIA-RDP80-01601R000500030001-6

Round-trip fare and meals are paid by state).

Outdated equipment

combined total of 700,000 issues a day, not enough for a population of 8,500,000) and the daily battle to keep the outdated, American typewriters and linotypes in working order. "It is war," said Vergara, to continue functioning on American equipment for which no toward the end of the trip to draw up a spare parts have been available for the last 13 years. Supplementing the two national papers are a daily paper for each province, many regional papers and many technical periodicals and magazines for different mass organizations.

Distribution is another problem, also made more difficult by the U.S. blockade. Spare parts are not available and must be invented often for trucks which carry the papers every day into rural and other areas. Planes, horses, mules, motorcycles and people also help in delivery. Supplementing the papers are a radio station that carries only news and music stations that broadcast bulletins every half hour. There are also sound systems in factories through which the entire papers are read to workers on a regular basis as they work.

Cuba's main problem with respect to the news is not getting the people to read, said Vergara. It is producing enough for them to read. The bulk of the country's paper is imported from arrogance that has been pumped into China.

The Cuban press, explained Angel "combat press," at war with imperialism "even though no bombs are dropping." Since the triumph of the revolution, he said, the Cuban press to recognize the right of "all our does not criticize the revolution.

who had not gone to college must go. "Imperialism has not lost its This includes Juventud Rebelde's aggressive nature," he pointed out, several reporters in each of the six noting the continual attacks against provinces. Every Saturday all must fly Cuba by mercenaries, the October to Havana to attend classes at the crisis and the Bay of Pigs invasion. university from 1 to 7 p.m. along with "The CIA continues its plots; knows we other Havana-based reporters who are for a revolution in all of Latin must also complete a four-year course. America and is always looking for ways to attack Cuba. That is why we do the paper (which is financed by the not criticize the revolution in the papers.'

Guerra emphasized the Cuban press is an instrument of the dictatorship of Major technical problems of the the proletariat, is anti-imperialist and Cuban papers are a lack of paper "especially anti-Yankee." Cuba's (Granma and Juventud Rebelde print a press. he said, systematically and deliberately denounces "all that is rotten in the U.S." and covers movements of radicals including especially oppressed minorities in the U.S,

The Americans met several times statement on the importance of the conference. On a 16th-floor suite of a . hotel overlooking the Malecon highway in Havana where Fidel, Che and Camilo first entered the city in January 1959, the underground iournalists declared their press must become "a press of combat," a "press of truth" and a force for unity. In a statement to be sent to radical journalists around the U.S., the 22 Americans urges: "We believe it is possible and necessary for us to agree on one central task: building an antiimperialist consciousness. We call to everyone in the radical and underground press and to revolutionary journalists to join with us in a renewed and deepened offensive against the common enemy.'

Radical journalists must fight military, economic and cultural imperialism around the world including within the U.S., the statement said. "It must combat cultural chauvinism. unconscious racism and general North Americans. That arrogance,' the statement went on, "often takes the form of failure to understand the incredibly difficult struggle against

peoples" to self-determination. "A

In the last three years the two Channels for this are the trade unions, reporting "so-called 'objective ational maners had made enough the properties and the party of the properties as a "bourgeois myth," "sp-called national papers had made enough the mass organizations and the party. the statement called for reportage that progress to be able to require that all To criticize the revolution in the press is "objective but not impartial," for a

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1 2 JAN 1972

#### LATIN AMERICA

- CUBA

Nearly all mass organizations in Cuba have issued statements condemning U.S. threats against Cuba after the Cuban navy captured the "Johnny Express" and accused its owner, Jose Villa, of engaging in counterrevolutionary activities. Villa later confessed to being a CIA agent. A statement by the Cuban Central Union of Workers said: "The Cuban working class will never be cowed by the Nixon government's threats and pressures of blackmail. In the face of the danger of aggression, we are ready to crush it." The Cuban Communist Youth Organization said: "We firmly support the lofty principle of not giving any guarantee to the pirate ships of the maggots who have opened fire against and wounded our people."....Former Sen. Eugene McCarthy (D-Minn.), considered to be a presidential candidate, last week said the U.S. should re-open ties with Cuba. (The U.S. broke relations with Cuba in 1961, less than two years after the completion of the revolution.) Said McCarthy: "It seems to me that no good has been served by our pretending that Cuba isn't there, at feast for the past five years."....Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticos left the Soviet Union last week after talks on trade agreements between Cuba and the U.S.S.R. through 1975.

Renee Blakkan

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# Alert on Cuba

#### By Joseph North

of them teenage children. One of them same mistake twice. One may resame mistake twice. One may regard President Nixon as many things, knave perhaps, but fool? Yet he is about to repeat an error, considering some kind of a major foray against Cuba. He has not learned the lesson his predecessor John F. Kennedy did a decade ago when he said he wished he had never heard of the Central Intelligence Agency and hoped it would be shattered into a thousand pieces. That was in the immediate aftermath of the abortive Bay of Pigs, the invasion of Cuba by the CIA.

The military alert Nixon called after the Cuban Navy captured the piratical his Cuban cool when he replied: Cuba, he "Johnny Express" is still on as we go to told his armies, had taken "necessary and press. That command has put all Latin America on the political alert, not to speak of the democratic forces in every part of the globe. Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party USA, calls the alert a cover under which further milto thousands of trigger happy captains of US naval craft and war planes operating in the Caribbean. He called for protests throughout the land.

The alert caused Major Raul Castro to address his armed forces, but instead of indicating consternation, the Cuban should examine what has been happening leader expressed "serene" confidence. "Everything has been done to meet any contingency" he told the Army of the Province of Havana, a military subdivi- moving this way, for not since the revolusion set up to prepare for just such con- tion in 1959 has there been such a hemistingencies. The comandante congratu- pheric groundswell for the resumption of lated the armed forces for their mastery of all the weaponry of defense.

A word about the "Johnny Express" tured a week earlier. Both have been Brazil. "mother ships" of the armed speedboats which carry out murder-raids on small tion of American States in December we coastal villages.

CIA desperadoes, recruited from the Cuba in 1964. counter-revolutionary refugees in Miami, speed away, hoping to make it over the no results. horizon before the Cuban Coast Guard gets after them.

in Oriente, a fishing town of 90 souls, how archaic U.S. isolationist policy is.

This is the pattern. There is never a peep out of our State Department. But when the Cubans defend themselves by getting two of the ships that lower the motorboats into action, we suddenly hear the cries of a shocked anguish out of Foggy Bottom. "Freedom of the seas," 'international law" are the stock phrases the State Department's Robert McCloskey uttered as he told the world the U.S. military is "prepared to take all measures"...

Raul Castro characteristically kept just measures," when it impounded the two pirate ships which committed atrocities under the pretense of being peaceful merchant ships.

The Cubans have not been silent about the reason President Nixon put a fatherly itary atrocities against Cuba are being arm around the wife of the captured planned. He said it gave the green light "Johnny Express" captain, Jose Villa. The Chief Executive of the USA had invited the pirate's wife to the White House and, posing for the cameras, "vowed" to free Villa.

Lest anybody mistake this posture as one of a purely paternal concern, one in the Latin American countries in recent months.

Events there are the reason Nixon is peaceful relations with Cuba. This has been expressed one way or another by virtually every country except the two

At the last meeting of the Organiza- large popular gains at the polls. Such raids have been going on for a Peruvian Government officially entered egies as Uruguay. Any wonder Nixon is dozen years, with relatively little atten- a resolution asking the OAS to end the convulsively reaching for the panic button' tion in the U.S. press. Braintrusted by the diplomatic blockade imposed against

the raiders swoop down in the dark of when the representative of tiny El Sal-bombers fly overhead. night and indiscriminately pepper towns vador favored the anti-U.S. resolution, with machine-gun bullets. Then they arguing that isolation of Cuba has brought aries, march shouting "guerra, guerra'

Ecuador on his way home where ne was feted by the authorities and cheered by the people.

Little wonder the New York Times of November 10 gloomily observed that "an era had ended," that Castro's tour of Chile had broken the cordon of isolation the United States had tried to set up around Cuba.

Salt was poured on the State Department-Pentagon wounds when Peru and Ecuador feted the Cuban statesman. Add to that the epoch-changing votes in the Organization of American States and we see the reason for Washington's jumpy policies.

The warm bond of friendship between Chile and Cuba has chilled the sensitive nervous system of the CIA. Fidel's endorsement of the direction the Allende government is taking was a blow to the design of the CIA-Pentagon conspirators to heighten antagonisms within Chile and other Latin lands.

Reaction and ultra-left adventurers in Chile, seeking to embarrass government policy by taking extreme measures in the countryside and elsewhere got a body blow. A proper tempo and a unifying tactic is needed to buttress the power of the people's government. Cuba's growing bonds of friendship with the Chilean coalition government strengthens the latter especially in the eyes of the youth of the hemisphere, Chile's first of all.

Washington is well aware of all this and has moved to take every measure its imperialistic think tanks bring up to stem the pro-Cuba, pro-Chile tide. Washington was also given a bad case of jitters by developments in the recent Uruguayan and its sister ship, "Lyla Express," cap- howling dictatorships of Paraguay and elections where a political tactic similar to Chile's was adopted and resulted in

> The peoples of many Latin American saw this movement at its apex. The countries are considering the same strat-

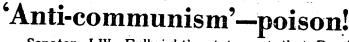
So he sounded an alert against Cuba. And more big gray warships begin to The way things are going can be seen roam the Caribbean waters. And more

And gusanos, the counter-revolution-'war-war" through the streets of Miami. Anybody following events in South And the strong-arm men among them America can see how true that is. Fidel sign up for the terror raids. And counter-A month ago a raid on Boca de Sama Castro's triumphal tour of Chile showed revolutionary killers like Rolando Masferrer talk of "coming back" on other

took the lives of two powers of the leaster 2001/03/04 lives Af Ropes 0-018000500030001-6 and gravely wounded four civilians, two Chileans, Castro stopped off in Peru and

continued

6 JAN 1972



Senator J.W. Fulbright's statement that President Truman's anti-communist doctrine has polluted our national foreign policy since World War II is of great significance.

It was confirmed in the Pentagon Papers which showed how anti-communism was used to cover military aggression against the peoples of Indochina.

The doctrine of "anti-communism" has been the battle cry of the cold war, the call to arms for eventual war against the socialist Soviet Union, the justification for the NATO war-alliance, the cloak for military aggression, putschism, support of militarist regimes, and for espionage in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Within weeks it has been simultaneously the demagogic cover for CIA-instigated forays against Cuba, and for ordering a U.S. war-flotilla into the Bay of Bengal.

On the home front anti-communism was pressed by McCarthyism toward its fascistic implications.

At home and abroad it has been used by monopoly capital to drug the American people, while imperialism moved to dominate the world, and to destroy the democratic institutions of our nation.

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# Panama probers back piracy charge by Cuba

By JOSEPH NORTH

NEW YORK, Jan. 3 - A political storm is raging throughout Latin America over the fact that the U.S. Government is maintaining a military alert against Cuba despite incontrovertible proof that the Nixon regime is dead wrong on the question of the two ships Premier Castro's Navy impounded two weeks ago.

The Panamnaian Government, whose flags the ships were flying, admitted publicly this weekend that the vessels in question were guilty of acting as "mother ships" that released armed speedboats to shoot up towns on the Cuban coast.

The Cubans had adopted protective measures by taking the ships in tow. President Nixon thereupon personally took the perilous action of declaring a'military alert, calling on the U.S. Navy and airforce to open up on Cuban craft whenever they deem it necessary. It gave any trigger-happy military man the greenlight to provoke an incident with the gravest international percussions.

This gunboat diplomacy roused instant anger in Latin countries that have themselves suffered from such high-handed acts of piracy. The script is familiar, but 1971 is not 1871.

#### Panama sends commission The Panamanian Government

was invited by Cuba to send an official commission to Havana to see for itself. It did, and the commission of three returned to Panama last weekend. Jorge Illuega, its head, told a press conference in the Foreign Office that the Cuban charges were found to be correct. A member of the commission, Carlos Gonzalez de la Lastra, of Panama's Merchant Marine ministry, told newsmen a scrutiny of the ships logs - the

"Johnny Express' and the "Layla

Express" - showed that they

engaged in the actions on Oct. 22,

1968, Nov. 18, 1968, and May 2

1969. The Cuban government, the Panamanians said, agreed to release the two ships after certain additional acts were ascertained. The Cubans charged that a third ship of Panamanian register, the

vessel responsible for the deaths of two Cuban militamen and grave injury to two children last month. One child had to suffer amputation of a leg.

The Panamanian Cabinet was convened this weekend to discuss what action to take to get the ships returned. According to the UPI, action was postponed until the inquiry regarding the Aquarius is completed.

Piratical alert continues

Meanwhile the piratical Nixon military alert continues with more warships, and warplanes than ever in Cuban environs.

; Nixon was asked an embarrasing question when he appeared before the nation in a CBS interview last night. His interrogator, Dan Rather, asked why it was ''necessary'' to establish a "diplomatic dialog with Communist China and continue to ignore a Communistcountry in our own back yard, Cuba."

Nixon had the gall to respond that "Cuba is engaged in a constant program of belligerence toward the U.S. and also toward its neighbors in the inner-American community."

This despite the fact that these anti-Cuban murder raids are known to be organized by the CIA. In this latest instance, Jose Villa, ·the captured captain of the Johnny Express, confessed that he was working for the CIA since 1964. Villa, Cuban-born, who abandoned Cuba in early 1964, told a brother of his, a militiaman and long-time revolutionist, Castro said, that he had been recruited by a Mr. Smith of the CIA when he arrived in Miami.

The Panamanian commission of inquiry itself confirmed that the confession had been made.

As to Nixon's charge of Cuban

piractical action and was the bors, needless to say not a single word of this drama is being missed by members of the Organization of American States, which voted only a fortnight ago on the question of hemispheric recognition of Cuba. The ballots showed that more OAS members than ever in its history wanted resumption of normal relations with the first socialist country in this hemisphere.

This is what is eating Nixon.

Aquarius, was eApproveidinor Releance2004/03/04nei@IA-RDP80-01601R000500030001-6

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3 1 DEC 1971



Cuba releases 26 spy-ship crewmen

PANAMA CITY. Panama — Twenty-six of the crewmen of the spy ships Lyla Express and Johnny Express were released by the Cuban Government and flown to Panama on Tuesday night aboard at Panamanian Air Force plane. The captain of the Johnny Express. Jose Villa Diaz. a Cuban gusano and admitted agent of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, is being held in Havana for trial before a Cuban revolutionary court.

Court Premier Fidel Castro earlier had offered to release any of the ordinary, non-CIA-type seamen found on board the two spy ships, which were registered as vessels in Panama but owned by Bahama Lines of Miami. Florida, Castro invited a Panamanian delegation to Havana to arrange for the men's release.

# Seized ship captain admits serving CIA against Cuba

By JOSEPH NORTH

NEW YORK, Dec. 27—The captain of the pirate ship the "Johnny Express" captured by the Cuban Navy Dec. 15, has confessed that he has been in the service of the CIA since 1964, Prime Minister Fidel Castro informed his nation at the weekend via television.

The impounding of this ship had led to President Nixon's declaration of a military alert against Cuba, an act giving the go-ahead signal to trigger-happy captains of U.S. naval and air war craft circling the socialist island.

The confession was made in Havana after the captured captain, a former Cuban citizen, had extensive talks with his own brother, "a revolutionary and member of the Cuban militia," Castro said.

Castro read sections of the confession over the air.

Villa's admission

Villa, 55, in his own words admitted he fled Cuba in 1930 for Miami, where he was recruited by a "Mr. Jones" to become an agent of the CIA. He was assigned to the captaincy of the Johnny Express, which with its sister ship, the Layla Express, both under the Panama flag, served as "mother ships" that carried the armed speedboats raiding the Cuban coastline and shooting up peaceful hamlets and towns in the dead of night. The speedboats carry heavy calibre machine guns.

This has been going on since the Cuban revolution of 1959. The the Cuban revolution of 1959.

U.S. State Department is mum about these atrocities, but as soon as the Cubans defend themselves, outraged cries come from Washington in this instance leading to the declaration of a military alarm against the neighboring land.

Both "mother ships" are owned by Cuban counter-revolutionists living in Miami who formed a shipping company under the name of Babun Brothers.

Landed secret agents

Villa also confessed that both ships disembarked secret agents in the dead of night on the Cuban coastline.

Villa was born in Cuba and has allegedly adopted U.S. citizenship. He is the only one of the captured 28 members of both crews to claim U.S. papers.

Washington has demanded the return of Villa; the Cuban government has refused.

Castro announced Villa will be tried under Cuban law, as will all members of the both crews. Those found innocent of espionage will be repatriated, the United Press International quoted Castro as saying.

Many Americans became acquainted with this episode through a front page photograph in the New York Times and other papers showing Nixon with a consoling arm around the wife of the captured captain of the Johnny Express. Nixon had invited the wife to his Florida quarters while he was vacationing there, and he vowed that he would get her husband back.

The entire episode, observers point out, follows on the heels of a vote in the Organization of American States showing a ground-swell for hemispheric diplomatic recognition of Cuba. It also follows the triumphal tour of Castro in Chile, Ecuador and Peru, breaking the cordon of isolation the U.S. tried to erect around the first socialist country in the western hemisphere.

"The end of an era," the New York Times said disconsolately, Nov. 10.

Meanwhile the dangerous alert is still in effect. Gus Hall, general secretary of The Communist Party, has urged nationwide demonstrations of protest.

# 'Reliable Sources' l Link Jose Villa, CIA During '60s

CIA STANDS FOR WHAT? How about "Castro Is Accurate," or at least partly so? Fidel claimed that Jose Villa, captain of the freighter seized by a Cuban gunboat Dec. 15, confessed to being a U.S. Central Intelligence agent. Neither the CIA nor the captain's boss of record would comment, but highly reliable sources say Villa was intermittently linked with the CIA from 1960 to 1964 and again from 1965 to early 1967, but has had no CIA connections since then.

Castro's detailed recitations of exile raids on Cuba seem to give considerable weight to the statements of one of his defected diplomats, Orlando Castro Hidalgo. In a just-published book, he discloses the systematic infiltration of Fidelista agents into Latin







Goldberg



Karl

America, Africa and the United States — particularly into Miami-based exile organizations, which could explain why so many forays from Florida to Cuba have been thwarted across the straits. Those who believe Fidel is telling the truth about CIA support for these raids point to the quiet downgrading of charges every time an above-board law enforcement agency catches an exile boat carrying an arsenal.

#### One-upmanship

It seemed like a dangerous game of diplomatic one-upmanship, and Fidel Castro went one up last week.

Eleven days ago, a Cuban gunboat 120 miles off the Cuban coast seized the freighter Johnny Express, skippered by José Villa, a Cuban-born naturalized American citizen. The Cubans claimed that the vessel, which flies the Panamanian flag but is owned by Cuban exiles who live in Miami, was fronting for the Central Intelligence Agency.

President Nixon promised Mr. Villa's wife that he would do all in his power to have her husband released. And the State Department issued a statement that "the Government is prepared to take all measures under international law to protect U.S. citizens and the freedom of the seas."

But last week Premier Castro, in a television and radio news conference, said that Mr. Villa had confessed to being a C.I.A. agent and would be tried by a revolutionary tribunal. He said Mr. Nixon had acted "precipitately" and "forcibly" without having all the information relating to the case.

# Former U.S. Envoy Hits Early Washington Anti-Castro Stand

Washington Post Foreign Service

to Chile has asked the State did the Cubans. Department to send him a copy forthwith.

early provocations triggered unfustifiably harsh U.S. reprisals, beginning with a decision implecrucial

says that the American gov. under President Kennedy. ernment informed him of pany excutive.

Union was the first overt act

... We in the Havana embassy became aware only our government," says Bon- month.

**Eerie Similarities** 

there are some eerie similar- toral

that U.S. policles unfavora- per investments.

The decision to deny Ex-not to intervene in Cuban Cuba. A month later, in port-Import Bank financing affairs AIRES-The for Chilean purchase of last American ambassador Boeing jets is considered by Soviet Cuban Sugar Deal to. Cuba has just written a some observes to have book on the collapse of U.S. driven Chile to the Russians

More militant Commu-Retired Ambassador Allende assume that the Philip W. Bonsal argues, in other key decision-making did no "Cuba, Castro and the center outside the Treasury tional United States," that Castro's is the CIA, as Bonasl im Irade. plies was the case in 1960.

Nixon's Role

The decision was that the count, then Vice President had already frozen. two American oil companies Nixon was the prime advofuse to refine Soviet crude arm Cuban exiles for their

this critical turn in policy page chronicle makes it calls: only by way of an oil com clear that Cuba and Castro were far different from Alagainst Cuba.

Davis was named early in Allende's term to replace Although the career diplo- Edward M. Korry, whose mat makes no comparisons, analysis of Allende's elecvictory ities between the events of those in Washington who 11 years ago and the uneasy consider Chile to be "lost." state of present U.S. rela-Korry stayed at his post tions with Chile's socialist through the first year of ne-For instance, it is gener-gotiations over the fate of ally assumed in Santiago nationalized American cop-

ble to President Salvador By Bonsal's account, his tant Russian friends which Allende's government are counsel against what he saw involved the fate of the generated by Treasury Sec- as Castro's efforts to use the Cuban government." retary John Connally rather United States as a whipping

affairs.

President Eisenhower made important Cuban quota for relations with Fidel Castro, in the same way that, Bonsal just a public pledge. The and the present ambassador shows, the 1960 oil decision next month, Soviet Vice Preing Havana, signed a deal tial prices. nists and Socialists backing for Cuban sugar, According to Bonsal, the agreement, suspension, Bonsal recalls, did not endanger the tradi- after secret hearings, on the

take Soviet oil in part pay- Communist penetration of ment for the sugar-enrag-the territory of American's Of course, today the ulti- ing traditional suppliers former staunch friend and mented by the Secretary of mate decisions lie with Prestago and Esso, whose ally." The ambassador says the Treasury.

ident Nixon. By his own acprofit remittances Castro he saw no basis for such a

operating in Cuba should re- cate of the 1960 decision to panies had decided to refine the decision to do in Castro, the Soviet oil under protest. had been made in March, oil that the Castro govern- eventual invasion which was Then an oil executive vis and the CIA had been aument imported, and Bonsal carried out, in April, 1961, ited him, at the request of thorized to start recruiting nder President Kennedy. Assistant Secretary of State and training the exile army. While Bonsal's spare, 225-Roy Rubottom. Bonsal re- "It became common knowl-

"My visitor went on to tell This reprisal against Cas. lende and Chile, the main me that on the previous day fighters who appeared sportro's dealing with the Soviet events are worth recalling representatives of the two for their possible perti-American companies ... nence—the more so since had been summoned to the in an unannounced policy there is mounting pressure office of the Secretary of that climaxed with the Bay in the hemisphere to end the Treasury, Robert Anderson, and had been informed Bonsal was named Ambas- by the Secretary that a resador to Cuba in January, fusal to accede to the Cuban gradually and imperfectly, 1959 to replace Earl E. T. government's request would and without real opportu- Smith, who had been deeply be in accord with the policy nity for comment and dis- committed to the Batista of the United States governnity for comment and dis-dictatorshop that Castro ment toward Cuba and that cussion, of the new policy of overthrew earlier that the companies would not American should they take a joint stand in this matter."

Bonsal adds that State Department authorities do not seem to have been consulted on Anderson's move. ambassador warned Rubottom "What we were doing was to present a situation to the their presumably then reluc-

But the oil companies rethan by the State Depart- boy was to negotiate quietly fused the Soviet crude oil, to rid them of the Marxist ment.

and to reassert U.S. pledges and were confiscated by authoritarian.

July, came the next step in the attempt to close out Cas-As late as January, 1960, tro - suspension of the allmicr Anastas Mikoyan, visit- United States at preferen-

Congress authorized the U.S. Cuban sugar basis that the step was "a necessary weapon to over-Then Cuban agreed to throw Castro and defeat contention.

Bonsal says that the com- Bonsal later learned that edge in Havana that summer that the CIA was helping the anti-Castro guerrilla adically in a number of rural areas."

With the oil and sugar decisions, Castro began wholesale expropriation of American holdings. He drew closer to the Soviets, and by October, Bonsal was permanently recalled to Washing-

Bonsal concludes that adherence to nonintervention incur any penalties under must be the basis of present antitrust laws U.S. approaches to Cuba, and of any revival of American influence and integrity in the hemisphere as a

For all his travails under then a U.S. policy on which he that had little influence, Bonsal's major thesis is that Cuban revolutionaries and Castro was able to establish a dictatorship in Cuba because the country's traditional rulership classes abdicated — believing that the . United States would step in

STATINTL

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#### **Latin-American Notes**

#### Cuba captures Miami-based Anti-Cuban Pirate Ship

HAVANA, Cuba—The Cuban government announced the capture 120 miles at sea of a freighter last week flying the Panamanian flag. The ship was involved, it said, in "piracy and counter-revolutionary activities against Cuba." The freighter, the Johnny Express, is based in Miami and is operated by the Bahamas Lines which belong to four brothers, the Babuns. They are anti-Cuban exiles.

The Cuban communique further said that the Babuns are known CIA agents. It also contended that when the Cuban Navy ordered the Johnny Express to stop, it ignored the command and attempted to escape. It was then boarded and taken to the north coast of Oriente Province.

The communique added that, "ships that perpetrate acts of piracy against our country will be treated without leniency, no matter the distance from our coasts or the flag or camouflage they use to perpetrate their crimes."



#### Fidel hits U.S. pirate raids

HAVANA—Cuban Premier Fidel Castro in a nation-wide radio-TV broadcast from Havana on Thursday charged the U.S. Government and the Central Intelligence Agency with being directly behind acts of piracy and banditry directed against socialist Cuba. Castro said pirate ships like the recently-seized Leyla Express and Johnny Express would be attacked by Cuba no matter where they were and no matter what flag they were flying.

The Cuban Premier mentioned the October 12 pirate raid on Sama, in Cuba's Oriente province, in which two Cubans were killed and several wounded, charging that the ship involved was based in Florida. He read an American wire-service dispatch of Oct. 18 in which Jose de la Torriente, a naturalized U.S. citizen and head of a Cuban gusano group, claimed responsibility for the Sama raid in a news conference held at the National Republican Women's Club in New York.

Dorticos, on an official visit to the USSR, was honored at a state dinner in the Kremlin by Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin and other top Soviet leaders. He said his talks with Kosygin "are an expression of a friendship between our peoples and parties which rests on revolutionary principles, on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. This friendship will go on forever. We appreciate our friendship more and more with each passing day. We are inspired by the heroic accomplishments of the Soviet people. When we encounter difficulties, we understand better the difficulties which were overcome by the Soviet people, and we see for ourselves how much effort it takes to build a happy future for mankind."

24 DEC. 1971

#### Dr Castro says ship's captain was CIA agent

Havana, Dec 23.—Dr Fidel Castro, the Cuban Prime Minister, said last night that Captain Jose Villa Diez, an American citizen and master of a ship seized by the Cuban Navy this month, had admitted being an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

In a two-hour broadcast covering many topics Dr Castro said that Captain Villa would stand trial before a military court for "the many criminal actions he has committed as a CIA agent".

But the Prime Minister said that only one other member of the crew of the Miami-based vessel Johnny Express was incriminated. He suggested that the Government of Panama, under whose flag the ship sailed, should send an aircraft to pick up the remaining members of the crew as soon as the inquiry was over.

Captain Villa was wounded when his ship was strafed, rammed and captured in the Bahamas on December 15. Another ship of the company, the Lyla Express, was captured off the coast of Cuba on December 5.

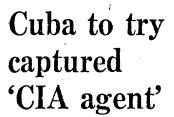
Dr Castro said he noted a strange coincidence in the timing of the affairs of the two ships and a report in a London newspaper that a Cuban official had defected to the United States, bringing allegations of a Cuban centre for Latin American subversion being set up in Chile.

The events, he said, came at a time when Peru intended to ask the Organization of American States to allow its members to renew relations with Cuba if they wanted to. "All of these are facts with evident political objectives", he added.—Reuter.

#### Approved For Release 2001/03/04: CIA-RDP80-01601R000500030001-6

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN 24 DEC. 1971

**STATINTL** 



Havana, December 23

The Cuban Premier, Dr Castro, claimed last night that Jose Villa Diez, a United States citizen and captain of a ship seized by the Cuban Navy this month, has admitted being an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

In a speech on radio and television, he said Cantain Villa of

In a speech on radio and television, he said Captain Villa, of the Miami-based freighter Johnny Express, would stand trial before a military court for "the many criminal actions he has committed as a CIA agent."

Dr Castro said that only one other crew member, a Spaniard, was incriminated. He suggested that the Government of Panama, under whose flag the ship sailed, should send a plane to pick up the remaining crew members as soon as the inquiry was over. — Reuter.



# Cuba to try skipper

# Castro says captain admits he is U.S. spy

Miami (P)—The Cuban premier, Fidel Castro, declared yesterday the captain of a Miami-based freighter captured last week by Cuban Navy gunboats had confessed to being an agent for the Central Intelligence Agency and would be submitted to "revolutionary justice."

Preimier Castro said most of the crewmen of that and a sister ship captured earlier each with a crew of 14 men—would be released.

Jose Villa Diaz captain of the Johnny Express, has a long history of participating in "pirate attacks" and CIA incursions against Cuba, Premier Castro declared in a radio-television speech monitored in Miami.

The Cuban leader said Captain Villa had admitted his role in these attacks over a period of several years to a brother of his who is a Cuban militia man. He did not identify the brother.

"There will be no return of the ships under the demands" made by President Nixon, Premier Castro said.

Premier Castro attacked Mr. Nixon for what he called the President's attempts to intimidate Cuba and what he said was the Nixon administration's support of "pirate attacks," guerrilla infiltrations and commando incursions against the island.

In attempting to justify Cuba's capture of the Johnny Express and Lyla Express, Castro detailed a long list of what he said were CIA-directed attacks against the island. The freighters belong to a Miami firm operated under a Panamanian flag by a family of prominent Cuban refugees.

He declared that Mr. Nixon was misinformed by his intelligence service about the role of Captain Villa, a Cuban-born American citizen.

Last Friday, Mr. Nixon met with Captain Villa's wife and three children in the Florida White House on Key Biscayne. After the 15-minute conference, the presidential press secretary, Rondald L. Ziegler, said Mr. Nixon had expressed "grave concern" for the captiain and demanded his safe return.

Later the U.S. State Department warned it would not tolerate further Cuban shipping attacks that threaten American citizens.

"The United States government considers these armed attacks upon commercial vessels and statements that Cuba intends to continue such attacks to constitute a clear and present threat to freedom of navigation and commerce in the Caribbean and a threat to American citizens," the department said.

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#### **Around the Nation**

# Captured Skipper Faces Cuban Trial

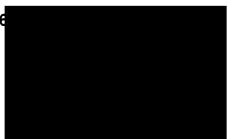
MIAMI — Cuban Premier Fidel Castro said last night that Capt. Jose Villa, skipper of a cargo ship seized by Cuba Dec. 15, has confessed to a long career as a CIA agent carrying out activities against Cuba.

Castro said Villa was only slightly wounded in the capture of the Panamanian-registered Johnny Express 120 miles from the Cuban coast, and was the only casualty aboard the ship.

In a Havana radio television broadcast, Castro read a detailed account of Villa's alleged confession of CIA activities, which he said not only confirmed information Cuban authorities had before the capture, but added considerable data.

The Cuban premier accused President Nixon of failing to speak out against "pirate attacks" launched against Cuba from the United States.

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#### Skipper Facing Trial As Spy, Castro Says

By MERWIN K. SIGALE Special to The Star

MIAMI—Cuban Premier Fidel Castro has announced that the American captain of a freighter seized by Cuba near the southern Bahamas will be tried for "the many criminal acts he has committed against our country as a CIA agent."

Commenting for the first time on Cuba's capture of two Miami-based freighters, Castro said last night that Capt. Jose Villa has confessed his role in "pirate" a ctions against Cuba and "will be submitted to the jurisdiction of Cuban authorities."

In a broadcast speech in Havana, Castro assailed President Nixon for what he called a "policy of intimidation" and rejected a U.S. demand for Villa's release. Last Thursday, Nixon received Villa's wife and three children at his Key Biscayne residence and told them he would do everything possible to obtain the 52-year-old captain's release.

The Cuban leader said that 24 of the 28 crewmen on the two ships, the Lyla Express and the Johnny Express, will be released. Held along with Villa is a Spaniard whom Castro identified as Felix Gari. Two Cuban citizens among the crewmen also were held, and Castro did not reveal their fate.

"There is no charge," he

said, "against the other two Spaniards, the two Guatemalans, the two Colombians, the one Honduran, the nine Dominicans and the eight Haitians . . . they will be freed and given facilities to return to their countries."

In the same speech, monitored in Miami, Castro confirmed the defection in London of a Cuban diplomat who was identified in press reports there as a high-ranking intelligence officer with knowledge of new plans for Cuban-backed subversion in Latin America.

Castro charged that the U.S. government was using the defection in a campaign of "incredible intrigue" to undermine the Marxist-led regime in Chile.

He named the defector as Gerardo Perata Ameshazurda—the apparent phonetic spelling—and said he was an embassy second secretary handling consular affairs in London. Castro said the Cuban Foreign Ministry was informed Nov. 18 that Perata "had deserted."

The State Department confirmed Saturday that a Cuban intelligence officer had defected in London, but declined to give his name or other details.

Castro read a news service account of a story last week in the Daily Telegraph of London, which did not name the defector but called him a "senior intelligence officer."

# U.S. Renews Denials of Any Plans to Attack Cuba

By Marilyn Berger Washington Post Staff Writer

The State Department yes-"acts of sabotage" against Ha-

Central Intelligence Agency.

with headquarters in Miami four others injured. Express seized Dec. 15-were engaged in anything but com- overthrow Fodel Castro. mercial pursuits.

Following the seizure of the Panamanian registered Johnny Express in Bahamian waters, the United States warned Cuba that it would take "all measures under international law" to protect American and other ships against Cuban attacks.

The State Department characterized the Cuban action as a "clear and present threat to the freedom of navigation and international commerce in the Caribbean and a threat to American citizens."

charged that the two ships, that negotiation. owned by Cubans who had gence Agency . . . for criminal Coast Guard has frequently at the annual meeting in actions" against Cuba.

terday renewed denials that iles and who have been in- litical activity. the U. S. government was in- volved in Cuban exile affairs. volved in any plans to attack Tass said that when the ves-Cuban territory. This followed sels were seized, "they had on Soviet charge on Monday board armed thugs who were by Peru in the Organization of that Washington was behind to land on Cuban territory and to stage acts of sabotage."

There is no clear indication The denial by State Depart- why Cuba moved against the ment spokesman Charles W. two ships now. But informed Bray followed a Tass commen- officials in Washington are tary supporting Cuban allega-inclined to see it as retaliation tions that the United States connected with a recent strafwas involved in "pirate acts ing attack by Cuban exiles on against Cuba" and that two a Cuban fishing village. In ships seized this month by Ha- that incident. Cuban exiles vana were owned by persons claimed credit for a landing at having connections with the Boca de Sama on Cuba's While Cuban exile groups Two persons were killed and that "present circumstances

called a "friendship visit."

In its commentary Monday, comes up for renegotiation in anti-Cuban course. Tass called the naval alert January and that the Dorticos Mexico never broke rela-"completely groundless" and visit might be preliminary to tions with Cuba, and Chile has

> State Department officials with the picked up Cubans on suspi. April.

brothers, who are Cuban ex- migration status for an exile left open the possibility that to become involved in any po-

> The action by the Castro government against the two vessels coincided with a move American States to lift sanctions imposed in 1964 against the Cuban regime. In an informal OAS on Dec. 13, Peru sought to sound out the attitude of other members toward a resolution to let states establish diplomatic, consular, commercial relations with Cuba.

The United States took the: position, as enounced by State Department spokesman Robnortheast coast on Oct. 12. ert J. McCloskey on Dec. 16, do not justify altering the; have attempted to stage what Radio Havana blamed that OAS decisions on sanctions have become known as "pin- attack on "the government of since by virtue of its continuattacks" on Cuban the United States and its ac-ing interventionist behavior shores, U. S. officials said they complices." A Cuban exile and its support for revolution, had no reason to believe that group headed by Jose Elias de Cuba remains a threat to the either ship—the Lyla Express la Torriente claimed responsi- peace and security of the hemseized Dec. 5 or the Johnny bility and called it the begin- isphere." In a formal, closed ning of a series of actions to meeting Friday, Peru withdrew its suggestion.

Some U.S. officials also sug- Tass connected efforts by gested that there might be a some Latin American counconnection between the sei-stries to improve relations with zures and the current visit to Cuba to the U.S naval alert in Moscow of Cuban President the Caribbean, "The wide Osvaldo Dorticos. He arrived movement for normalization there yesterday on what Tassi of relations with Cuba that spread in the Western Hemi-News of the visit took U.S. sphere causes extreme irritaofficials by surprise. U.S. officials noted that Cuba has fretthe commentary said. "They quently used the continuing refuse to reconcile themselves U.S. threat against the Castro to the bankruptcy of their regime as a lever for winning policy of isolation of Cuba and Soviet aid. They noted that now resort to every means to the aid agreement between make Latin American counthe two countries generally tries continue to follow their

recently reestablished its ties Castro regime. taken political asylum in the said the United States tried to Sources at the OAS suggested United States, "were widely discourage exile plans to at that a new effort may be made used by the Central Intelli tack Cuba and noted that the to lift sanctions against Cuba

The ships belong to the Ba-clous expeditions. The officials ernment connection with the hama Lines, run by four said it is a violation of his imtwo vessels that were seized, the ships, and their owners. may at one time have been involved in anti-Castro activities. But they suggested that that may have been in the heyday of Cuban exile activity between 1961 and 1963.

> Cuba's official Communist newspaper "Granma" called the denial by the U.S. government of any connection with the seized vessels a "shameful lie" comparable to Washington's original denial of any involvement in the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion. But State Department officials said the ships are involved in a regular steamship service between Miami, Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

They add that according to crew lists supplied by the Bahama Lines there were no Cubans aboard the Johnny Express, except for the captain, Jose Villa, a Cuban-born U.S. citizen, and two Cubans aboard the Lyla Express.

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## Freighters 'seized

# U.S., Cuba step up Caribbean watch

By James Nelson Goodsell Latin America correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Havana and Washington stepped up their surveillance of Caribbean waters around Cuba over the weekend in the wake of Cuba's seizure of two United States-based freighters.

The heightening of tension between the two nations, which could lead to some sort of new confrontation, came as the State Department confirmed London reports that a high-level Cuban intelligence officer had defected in London to the United States.

Informants said the defector carried with him information on an alleged new Cubanbacked Latin-American liberation movement. According to one source, the Cubans are eager to set up some sort of headquarters for revolutionary activity in the Chilean capital of Santiago.

The report on the defector, which appeared first in the Daily Telegraph of London, did not mention his name nor would the Department of State give his name.

### Precautionary measures

The Department of Defense, meanwhile, announced it had taken "certain precautionary measures" in its continuing surveillance of Cuba, but it refused to amplify. There were indications, however, that the "precautionary measures" included stepped-up, United States military-aircraft-and-ship measures.

For its part, Cuba announced it had put its air and naval units on alert. Moreover, Havana said it would continue to act against ships that allegedly carry on pirating activities against Cuba, the implication being that Havana regards the Panamanian-registered freighter Johnny Expresso, which it seized last Wednesday, as one such ship. The ship was seized in Bahama's waters, 100 miles from Cuba.

The Havana newspaper Granma, official organ of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, headlined a frontpage editorial on the issue: "Hypocritical lying and threatening declaration of the Yankee State Department."

### Meeting with family

The editorial said the State Department's comments on the capture of the Johnny Expresso and its sister ship, Lylia Express, was proof that "the imperialist government

President Nixon last Thursday met with the family of José Villa, the Johnny Expresso's captain, and pledged to seek his release. He is a naturalized American of Cuban birth.

Havana earlier had claimed that the Johnny Expresso, like other Miami-based ships manned largely by Cuban exiles, was involved in action against Cuba and was in the service of the United States Central Intelligence Agency.

Just where the current tension between Washington and Havana is leading is hard to tell. But the situation tends to blunt efforts on the part of some people in the United States to seek a rapprochement with Cuba.

Moreover, it comes at a time when the Organization of American States (OAS) is debating a change in its eight-year-old stand isolating the government of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

Whether the Havana-Washington tension, and now the disclosures of a new Cuban defector, will affect this debate in the OAS is not clear. Those supporting an end to Cuba's OAS-imposed isolation do not appear to have enough votes anyway to swing a change.

of Prasident Nixed For Referate 2001/1/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R000500030001-6 the climate of hysteria and elegate 2001/1/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R000500030001-6 Cuba."

# Ship's Captain Only Casualty, Cuba Declares

By WILLIAM MONTALBANO
Herald Latin America Correspondent

Capt. Jose Villa was wounded only slightly and is the only casualty from the gunboat attack, last week on the freighter Johnny Express, according to Cuban press reports.

The reports reached the State Department Monday from the Swiss Embassy in Havana, as the U.S.-Cuban confrontation in the Caribbean continued in stalemate.

The Swiss reported that a caption accompanying Villa's picture in the Communist Party newspaper Granma said his wounds were slight.

GRANMA, which is often used to express official Cuban government positions, accused Villa of being an agent of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, the Swiss reported.

"When trying to resist orders from the Cuban Navy he received slight wounds but was the only crew member to be wounded," Granma reported.

At one point in a dramatic



Jose Villa ... 'defied order'

radio distress call last Wednesday while the Panamanian-registered freighter was under attack near the Bahamian island of Little Inagua, Villa said, "I am dying, Chico."

He also reported that an unspecified number of his 13 crewmen had been hit by machine-gun fire from the Cuban gunboat No. 020.

THE STATE Department said the Swiss had no first-hand information on Villa's condition.

A department spokesman said that there had been no official reply from the Cubans to a U.S. note of protest demanding the return of the wounded captain, who was the only American citizen aboard the Johnny Express.

The Miami-based Johnny Express, owned by a prominent Miami family of Cuban exiles, was returning home from Haiti when it was attacked. A sister ship, the Lyla Express, was seized Dec. 5 without violence.

THE CUBAN government has accused both freighters of being "pirate ships" that have landed men, arms and explosives in Cuba for the CIA. The charge has been denied by the ships' operators and the United States.

After the Johnny Express incident, the United States warned Cuba that it would tolerate no further attacks on shipping in the Caribbean and promised armed assistance to ships under attack.

The Cubans responded to the warning by placing their air and naval units on alert and promising to seize "pirate ships," wherever in the Caribbean they are found.

## Soviet Criticizes U.S. Policy on Cuba

By HEDRICK SMITH

icy of isolation of Cuba and now resort to every means to make Latin-American countries continue to follow their anti-Cuban course."

Tass contended that the American military alert of some units in the Caribbean following Cuba's seizure of two vessels was "completely groundless."

The press agency said that and 15, "they had on board the ships—the Lyla Express and armedthugs who were to lanc MOSCOW, Dec. 20—The So-the Johnny Express—were reg-viet Union charged today that istered in Panama and owned

the United States had intensi-fied tensions with Cuba without litical asylum in the United Experimentary, much sharp-intelligation as part of an effort see that the United experimentary in the Uni tions from restoring normal diplomatic relations with Havana.

"The wide movement for Cybe Texas controlled" against Cyba

"The wide movement for Cuba, Tass contended.

Rejecting United States contended.

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The commentary gave the Government of Premier Fidel contends of "solidarity and support" in cles," the Soviet Tass agency, trade, Tass said, that when the its confrontation with Wash-said in a commentary. "They refuse to reconcile themselves to the bankruptcy of their policy of isolation of Cuba and contends of the seas contended.

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The commentary gave the Castro only a pro forma pledge international of "solidarity and support" in trade, Tass said, that when the its confrontation with Washington circles," the Soviet Tass agency, trade, Tass said, that when the its confrontation with Washington circles, "The commentary gave the Government of "solidarity and support" in trade, Tass said, that when the its confrontation with Washington circles," the Soviet Tass agency, trade, Tass said, that when the its confrontation with Washington circles, "The commentary gave the Government of "solidarity and support" in trade, Tass said, that when the its confrontation with Washington circles, "The commentary gave the Government of "solidarity and support" in trade, Tass said, that when the its confrontation with Washington circles, "The commentary gave the Government of "solidarity and support" in trade, Tass said, that when the its confrontation with Washington circles, "The commentary gave the Government of "solidarity and support" in the commentary gave the Government of "solidarity and support" in the commentary gave the Government of "solidarity and support" in the commentary gave the Government of "solidarity and support" in the commentary gave the commentary gave the commentary gave the comm

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# Cuban Forces Aleried After U.S. Statement

## By JEREMIAH O'LEARY Star Staff Writer

Cuban naval and air units were placed on alert yester-day, according to Havana radio broadcasts, after the Pentagon disclosed that U.S. forces have been alerted to protect commerce in the Caribbean against Cuban attacks.

Defense Department spakesman Daniel Z. Henkin declined to discuss the "precautionary measures" ordered by the Pentagon, and actual movements of U.S. naval, air and other forces were kept secret.

Radio Havana claimed Cuba is defending its territory and "does not threaten freedom of commerce and navigation in the Caribbean."

Meanwhile, the State Department confirmed reports that a Cuban intelligence officer has defected to the United States. A spokesman would say only that the Cuban had defected in London, but refused to give the man's name. News reports from London described the defector as a senior official in the Cuban intelligence apparatus and said he carried plans for a new setup for Cuban-sponsored revolutions in South America.

#### Two Ships Seized

The new controversy with Cuba came to a head Friday when State Department spokesman Robert J. Mc-Closkey announced that the United States is prepared to take all measures under international law to protect U.S. citizens and freedom of the seas in the area.

Focal point of the crisis was seizure by Cuban naval forces of two Miami-based merchant ships of Panamanian registry near the Bahamas more than 100 nautical miles north of the Cuban coast.

The Lalia Express was seized Dec. 5 with an international crew of 13 and the Johnny Express Dec. 15 with a crew of 14, including Capt. Jose Villa, a naturalized American cit-

izen. The Johnny Express was fired upon by a Cuban gunboat, reportedly wounding Capt. Villa and several crew members. Both ships were taken to a Cuban port, probably Baracoa on the north coast of Oriente province.

Reports from the U.S. Coast Guard indicate that both ships were seized in either international or Bahamian waters. If it is the latter, the situation automatically involves Great Britain.

#### Panama Involved

The confused situation also involves Panama, which reportedly has protested the seizure of the two ships to Havana. Both Lalia Express and Johnny Express fly Panamanian "flags of convenience."

Other nations are concerned by the seizures because of the international makeup of the crews. The total list of those in Cuban custody, according to Washington sources; includes one American (Capt. Villa); 2 Cuban exiles, 3 Spaniards, 9 Dominicans, 7 Haitians, 2 Guatemalans, 2 Colombians and 1 Honduran.

Both ships are owned by a family of Cuban exiles in Miami named Babun. The Lalia Express was en route from St. Marc, Haiti, and the Johnny Express from Port au Prince, Haiti, both bound for Miami.

#### U.S. Connection Denied

Sources here deny that the U.S. government has any connection with the captured ships although Cuba has called this a "shameless lie". Washington insists that the two ships are merchant ships engaged in normal commerce, not CIA spy ships.

President Nixon made known his personal cutrage at the attacks in Key Biscayne, Fla. where he personally received Villa's wife and told her he would do all he could to obtain his release.

The State Department and the Pentagon left no doubt that the United States intends to proteect international waterways from any future Cuban incursions.

## Approved For Release 20000/03704 : CIA-RDP80-0160

# U.S. WARNS CUBA ON SHIP ATTACKS

Denounces Latest Seizure, Vows to Take Measures to Protect Vessels

> By TAD SZULC Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17-The United States warned Cuba today that it would take "all measures under international law" to protect American and other ships in the Caribbean from any new attacks by the

The warning was contained in a denunciation issued by the State Department over Wednesday's strafing and seizure of a Miami-based freighter by a Cuban gunboat, the second such incident this month, and the subsequent announcement last night that Cuba would attack "pirate" ships "no matter the distance from our coasts or the flag."

Robert J. McCloskey, the State Department spokesman who issued today's warning, declined to specify what measures the United States would take.

#### Orders Reported Issued

But it was authoritatively understood that orders were being issued to naval and air units in the Caribbean to provide armed assistance to any vessel, American or foreign, that might find itself under attack by the Cubans.

The State Department described the Cuban actions as a "clear and present threat to the freedom of navigation and international commerce in the Caribbean and a threat to American citizens."

.. The captain of the ship seized Wednesday, José Villa, is a naturalized American of Cuban birth.

President Nixon engaged his own prestige in this latest confrontation with Havana when he personally assured the captain's wife, Isabel, that he would do all he could to obtain his release.

Captain Villa, who was wounded, is under detention in Cuba, which has ignored demands by the United States, sent through the Swiss Embassy in Havana, that he be freed.

The captured freighter is the Johnny Express, which flies a Panamanian flag but is based in Miami and is owned by the Bahama Lines in that city. The Bahama Lines, which has six freighters, belongs to four Babun brothers who are Cuban refugees.

The Lylia Express, first of the Babun ships to be attacked. was seized off the coast of Cuba on Dec. 5. The Johnny Express was strafed, rammed and captured near Little Inagua Island in the Bahamas.

Cuba Charges C.I.A. Links Cuba charged that both ships were engaged in "piracy" and that their owners had connections with the Central Intelligence Agency.

This was denied in Miaml by Teófilo Babún, one of the brothers.

In Washington, Mr. McCloskey said, in reply to questions, 'I can assure you that these vessels were on innocent passage and in no way were connected to the United States Government."

American officials were not certain why Cuba has apparently chosen this time for new frictions with the United States and has risked the possibility of actual clashes with American forces, if additional ships are attacked in the Caribbean.

But the impression among officials concerned with Cuban affairs was that Havana was inviting tension when it made the statement last night that "the ships that perpetrate acts of piracy against our country will be treated without leniency, no matter the distance from our coasts or the flag or camouflage they use to perpetrate their crimes."

Officials here said that it was this threat that had led directly to the State Department's warning of reprisals.

#### Boy Returns From Cuba

MIAMI, Fla., Dec. 17 (Reuters)—Robert McKinley Jr., 16 years old, arrived back in Miami today after being detained for more than six weeks in Cuba. He was one of five crewmen taking a fire-damaged schooner to Key West when Cuban gunboats captured them for invading Cuban waters.



#### Approved For Release 20**0⁄4/0⁄3/0**4ℝ**Φ**₽Α-RDP80-17 DEC. 1971

# Castro Calls Attack Reprisal for Raids By Exiles on Cuba

By WILLIAM MONTALBANO Herald Latin America Correspondent

The Cuban government Thursday portrayed its Cuban exile Babun family, attack on the Miami-based freighter Johnny Express operators of the Express vesas a direct reprisal for exile raids against the Fidel Castro regime.

The Panamanian-registered Johnny Express, attacked Wednesday near the Bahamian island of Little Inagua, made port Thursday in Cuba's Oriente Province under escort from Cuban naval units.

On Key Biscayne, President Nixon met with the wife and three children of Jose Villa, the freighter's captain, and said the United States would demand Villa's return.

Villa, a Cuban-born naturalized American

citizen, and several members of his crew were reported wounded in the attack, which the Cuban government statement acknowledged had occurred in international wa-

In a dramatic account of the attack by radio, Villa said at one point that he was dying. But White House, press secretary Ronald Ziegler said Thursday that Villa was alive in Cuba.

Ziegler called the attack on the Johnny Express "deplorable . . . an unconscionable act ... clearly in violation of international practice. . . ."

But U.S. authorities stressed that the incident would be of most immediate concern to the government of Panama, because the Johnny Express was not only registered in Panama but also owned by a Panamanian corporation.

"WE DO HAVE some interest because at least one of the persons aboard, the captain, is an American citizen," said Ziegler. He said the United States was maintaining close contact with the Panamanian Embassy Washington.

There was no immediate comment from the Panamanian government.

tors of the freighter, said the crew included nine Dominicans, two Haitians and two

Spaniards.

In acknowledging the attack, the Cuban government called the Johnny Express a "pirate ship" in the service of the U.S. Central Intelligible gence Agency.

The statement said: "This to the attack. ship, like the Lyla Express, which was captured Dec. 5 in the same area, was flying the Panamanian flag to facilitate its activities of transporting arms and men to Cuba."

In a telephone conversation with The Herald, a man at the Cuban Foreign Ministry in Havana confined himself to the government/statement. He refused to say where the crewmen were being held, or how many sion and once police arrested were wounded and what two Babuns and seized a their conditions were.

THERE WAS some speculation that the 1,400-ton bring criminal charges morning. against at least some of the

"Cuba will not hesitate to act at any distance from our coast where these pirate ships are operating and under whatever flag or camouflage they are carrying out their crimes against our nation," said the Cuban govern-Radio Havana.

The statement accused the sels, of being "well-known counter revolutionary agents in the service of the U.S. government."

The Cuban statement recalled an exile attack Oct. 12 on the coastal fishing village of Boca de Sama in Oriente, in which several persons were killed and others injured, including a 13-year-old girl whose leg had to be amputat-

"It was one of dozens of similar crimes committed by The Bahamas Line, opera- √ the imperialistic government of the United States against Cuba," the statement said.

> CUBA CHARGED the attackers at Boca de Sama reached the village in a speedboat launched from "a mother ship."

The Cuban statement did not directly link any of the Bahama Line Express vessels

Informed U.S. sources here said the "mother ship" at Boca de Sama was a vessel called the Aquarius, owned by the exile organization Cuban Liberation Front, which claimed responsibility for the attack.

The Babun family is prominent among anti-Castro exiles here. At least two members of the family are veterans of the Bay of Pigs invalarge quantity of explosives from their shipyard here.

ONE OF the brothers, Teo-Johnny Express had been filo, had a Herald reporter taken to the port of Baracoa ejected from the Bahamas in Oriente. The Lyla Express Line offices Thursday. He has been held there since its said he was angered by an capture, and the Cuban gov- article on the family's backernment has said it would ground, published Thursday

But he denied, according Lyla Express' 14 crew mem- to United Press International,

the Cuban charges of CIA connections.

The family claimed the attack on the Johnny Express was part of a personal vendetta against the Babuns by Fidel Castro, UPI reported

THE JOHNNY Express, ment statement as heard on like the Lyla Express, was en route back to Miami from Port-au-Prince, Haiti, when it was attacked.

> The Lyla Express, the Cuban government has charged, landed exile guerrillas in Cuba "from bases located on United States territory" on three occasions in 1968 and 1969.

> The crew of the Lyla Express included two Cuban exiles, as well as Colombians, Haitians, Hondurans and Guatemalans.

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In our opinion:

# Washington wise to keep cool

The average American must feel there is more to the Castro ship hijacking than anyone has revealed.

Castro is flirting with serious trouble, of course, when he violates the freedom of the high seas by firing on a foreign vessel and forcing it to a Cuban port.

On the other hand we find it hard to fault the U.S. Navy and Coast Guard for their restraint. Both services said they dispatched aircraft for humanitarian reasons, making it clear they weren't looking for a military confrontation.

Had an American ship been involved the U.S. forces would have faced a different decision. But what right or obligation have American forces to defend foreign flag ships in Bahamian waters, or on the high seas?

American cruise ships sail within a few miles of the Cuban coastline virtually every day and U.S. airlines have been overflying Cuba for years without incident. What was special about the Johnny Express?

This is not to say that Castro is correct when he says that the shipping line in question is a tool of the CIA.

Castro blames the CIA for everything but hurricanes, and he probably wonders about those.

We do believe, as we said earlier, that there are undertones to this singular incident which have yet to be fully developed. And while we feel sure it would suit our Cuban activist groups to see Uncle Sam send a fleet to retrieve the Johnny Express, Washington is well advised to play it cool.

# Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601/R000500030001-6



Cuba seizes raiders' ship

HAVANA—Cuba's Armed Forces Ministry announced in Havana on Wednesday that Cuban naval patrol boats seized a vessel belonging to counter-revolutionaries which had violated Cuba's territorial waters. The ship, the "Leila Express," flew the Panamanian flag to camouflage its identity. It had been repeatedly used by gangs of counter-revolutionaries financed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency in Florida to make armed attacks on Cuban fishing boats and coastal settlements. The Cuban spokesman said a number of "well-known bandits" had been captured on the "Leila Express" and were being interrogated.

NORWICH, CONN.
BULLETIN
DEC 9 1971
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5 - 28,895

## Cuban Policy

We are steadily getting to know more about United States relations with Cuba, even as far back as the Eisenhower administration.

A new and interesting source is Philip W. Bonsal's book, Cuba, Castro and the United States.

Bonsal was our last ambassador to Cuba, serving from January 1959 to October 1960, two months before President Eisenhower severed diplomatic relations.

It appears from Bonsal's account that numerous Washington actions toward Cuba under Eisenhower were taken without any prior knowledge of the Department of State or our embassy in Havana.

The author attributes such actions to private American sugar and oil interests, plus certain Washington officials unconnected with State.

The author points the finger at the Treasury Department, the Central Intelligence Agency and then Vice President Nixon's office.

The new policy, thus implemented, played into Castro's hand. Among other things, this gave him "the economic aggression" excuse to nationalize American properties in Cuba.

There were various surprises, none of them proposed by the State Department.

One was President Eisenhower's suspension of Cuba's sugar quota, which was designed to hasten the overthrow of Castro but failed in that.

At the very least, it is evident then there was no disciplined control of our Cuban policy.

The situation provides a good lesson in how not to conduct foreign relations.

# Viewed as Pests, Hijackers Find Existence Grim in Cuba

James and Beverly Reed, freelance Canadian journalists, recently spent several weeks on vacation in Cuba. On their return, they wrote the following article for the Associated Press.

By JAMES AND BEVERLY REED

MEXICO CITY - "My mother wouldn't believe it," mused the young girl living with other American airplane hijackers in the Havana suburb of Miramar.

"We've got a swimming pool, we live in a house that used to belong to a millionaire and we have a cook and

a gardner.
"The catch is that the pool never has any water, the house is falling apart and the cook and gardener are keeping us under surveillance."

For the hijacker in Cuba, life is unpleasant.

Cuban officials have said repeatedly that the vast majority of hijackers are "common criminals, mentally unbalanced persons and socially unadapted persons anxious to change their country of residence for personal reasons of an unrevolutionary

THEY ALSO ARE a considerable drain on the country's slim economic resources, since the government must feed, house and clothe them.

The hijackers, particularly the Americans, despair of ever seeing their homelands and families again. Life for most is drab and uninteresting because they live in a basically unsympathetic society that has another language and customs.

Once in awhile, gifts from friends and relatives abroad get through to them.

Passersby can often hear outdated rock music blasting from the American hijacker house. It is surroundmore to keep strangers out than to keep them in.

ALTHOUGH THE Cubans . Cuba has had to take respon- on the hijacker. sibility for hijackers since few countries have gone ceedings.

The Cubans view hijacking as very much a two-way street. In the case of the United States, which is only 90 miles away, they are prepared to hand over all American hijackers, except those deemed to be in danger of political reprisals.

But they insist that any agreement with the United States must include a right to extradite those Cubans who have hijacked Cuban aircraft and ships, including even rowboats.

THE CUBANS also are quick to point out that they have always returned hijacked aircraft, including two Boeing 747 jumbos that have been taken to Cuba in the past year.

On the other hand, they charge that the United States has rarely reciprocated.

Cuba claims that, since the 1959 revolution, when Castro came to power, more than 260 boats and more than 30 aircraft have been illegally hijacked to the United States and never returned.

The last airplane passengers ever see of hijackers is when police and soldiers board a craft at Havana's Jose Marti Airport to take them away.

ALMOST immediately upon arrival on Cuban soil, the hijacker is placed in solitary confinement.

Then he is subjected to intense questioning and a detailed dossier on his private life and background is assembled.

Foremost in the minds of the Cubans is that the hijacker may be a Cuban exile or

The period of solitary constrongly disapprove of air- finement can last up to three plane hijacking and Cuban months. In some cases it has law provides for extradition, a serious psychological effect

At least two hijackers, a mentally unstable boy from along with its extradtion pro- Detroit, Mich., and a member of the San Francisco Red Guard, a California Maoist organization, have committed suicide in Cuba.

ONCE THE interrogation period is completed, the hijacker is moved to one of several houses which the Cubans have set aside as living quarters for them.

Gradually, the hijackers are divided into two groups: those the Cubans believe are endangered in their own country because of their political views and those the Cubans feel are undesirables.

Many of the American hijackers in the undesirable category are reported more than willing to go back to face trial.

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## TU.S. MINI-CRISIS

# Swan Islands His, 81-Year-Old Claims

By JEREMIAH O'LEARY Star Staff Writer

At the State Department on this Thanksgiving Day they are being thankful that, while the world's major crises remain the only new crisis is a tiny one.

involves the outrage of Sumner Smith, 81, of Lincoln, Mass., against the U.S. government for giving away "his" island to Honduras. His islands, Smith says, three islets called the Swan Islands, located about 100 miles off the Atlantic coast of Honduras.

A government source today admitted the give-away readily enough, since it was done in broad daylight earlier this week before a large crowd at San Pedro Sula, Honduras, by White House counsellor Robert H. Finch.

But the government says they are not Smith's islands.

#### Payments Stopped

"We decided about five years ago that the Smith family did not have title to Swan," said a government authority, "and we stopped paying on the lease at that time."

Smith said he took possession of the archipelago in 1950 for debts owed him by a guano-collecting company. He said the government paid him \$300 a year for use of Swan's sandy terrain, once as a CIA radio station breadcasting propaganda to Cuba and also as a weather station.

The islands in the group are Greater Swan, Lesser Swan and Bobby Cay, both of more interest to sea turtles and birds than to most people.

But the islands are of great interest to Honduras, which claimed them through terms of a patrimony handed down from Columbus and Spain. President Nixon decided to have Finch give them to Honduras as a goodwill gesture to Latin America.

#### Guano Act Cited

Sinith said he is good and mad at the U.S. government. Yet the government, appearently unworried despite the need for Senate ratification of the transaction, says the Guano Act of 1856 gives the President the right to claim any islands discovered by American citizens in search of bird-droppings useful for fertilizer.

If this is so, Smith wants to know, how come the government ever paid him for the lease? He figures the lease constituted recognition of his ownership, which derives from his father's part-ownership in the Swan Islands Co.

"Now they've given the islands away," said Smith.
"They've come along and kicked us the hell out," he said from Lincoln.

Smith tried to press the matter by court suit last year, but a Federal judge ruled for the United States. The chances are that the Honduran flag will be fluitering over the reefs and sand of the Swan Islands before Smith could get another case gains.

another case going.

Anyway at the State Department today, more people are preoccupied with turkeys than swans.

Bonsal's expose

Who is holding up re-establishment of relations with

Cuba?

Is it the same oil-sugar monopolies which brought about the break in the first place, with the assistance of Richard M. Nixon, then Vice President, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Treasury Department?

A man who should know—the last U.S. Ambassador to Cuba, Philip W. Bonsal—has charged in a new book that this unholy cabal bypassed then President Eisenhower and the State Department to impose economic

sanctions against Cuba in 1960.

At a time when the need for an easing of tensions and for the development of peaceful relations has become greater than ever before, it is time to undo the crime of the past and to open a door to a new future.

... The re-establishment of diplomatic and economic re-

lations with Cuba is one step in that direction.

## Approved For Release 2001/03/04: CIA-RDP80-0

## By Joseph North

Will Cuban counter-revo-/lutionaries, spurred on by CIA and other U.S. reactionary forces, succeed in stepping up their hit-andrun murder raids on Cuban coastal towns to try to pre-Washington and Havana?

after the latest raid on the 3,000 mile coastline of the first socialist land in the Americas. That raid took place late in October on a tiny fishing village of 50 souls at Boca de Sama in eastern Oriente. Two veteran Communist guardsmen gravely wounded, including two factions of Cuban exiles together were killed and four civilians were teenage sisters, one of the latter in one meaningful movement." so badly that one of her legs had His batting average, observers in to be amputated.

That pirate assault almost coincided with the day that Senators' Edward Kennedy and George Mc-Govern delivered speeches urging a new look at Cuban-U.S. relations, arguing for peaceful coexistence.

Observers felt the two canny Presidential hopefuls regarded can public would favor. It is, of nation among the enemies of Cuba.

 Daily News enters the fray The New York Daily News got into the act Nov. 2, with a column by Jerry Greene, their man in the Pentagon. He said the aim of the band of Cuban counter-revolutionaries led by Jose de la Torriente was to continue the raids and then "notify the United Nations that a state of war exists between the Free Cuban Nation (sic) and the Castro government. Thereafter under the planning, other nations will do business with Havana at their own risk.'

The News quoted Torriente extensively, obviously trying to build him up, as well as the phony idea of a "Free Cuban Nation." What the News omitted was that this Torriente is held in low esteem by the other bands of counter-revolutionaries hosted by the Administration. He is considered a nonentity who bragged for years about big raids he would lead on Cuba, and then the mountain produced a mouse. The many brands of runaway Cubans plotting to overthrow the revolutionary gov-

ernment are based on U.S. soil, financed by U.S. government money, with fabulously rich counter-revolutionary Cubans chipping in, like ex-dictator Fulgencio Batista, who fled Havana Jan. 1, 1959, carrying countless millions he stole from the treasury, and like Rolando Masferrer, political gangster, head of the gang of killvent a detente between ers known as the Sharks. Masferrer's yacht was impounded Jan. This question is being asked 2, 1959, in Florida waters by the Coast Guard, and \$21 million in neat bundles of dollar bills was discovered in the hold.

The Daily News man, Greene says he ran across Torriente's gang about a year ago while the 'leader was out batting about the world trying to pull the assorted the know say, is about zero. Unity is a dismal failure among the counter-revolutionists.

Hit-and-run operation

The Torriente-led raid was a hit and run operation, nothing like the picture he drew of a landing operation, in which a town was allegedly held for two hours. These hit-and-run raids come "althis issue as one that the Ameri- ways from the North", the Cubans reveal. They're the usual pattern, course, one that causes conster- in which efforts to land contingents on Cuban soil are shattered and the raiders killed or captured.

Continued failure has created widespread division in counterrevolutionary ranks. Bidding for funds from the CIA; etc., is fiercely competitive. Actually much of the counter-revolutionary record boils down to lies and braggadocio that seek more contributions.

Greene omits a characteristic case, a highly-touted Sept. 19 raid led ostensibly by Dr. Francisco Alabau Trelles, a former justice. of the Cuban Supreme Court.

The whole thing proved to be a Madison Avenue-style concoction to raise Trelles' standing and pump oxygen into the ranks of the would-be Batistas.

Phony 'war communique' Trelles published a "war communique" in the newspaper "Pat-

ria", published with money shelled out by Batista and his friends in the U.S. The "communique" said two bands of commandos landed in Camaguey, at the town of Guayabal where they "set fire to a naval base, captured the per-

# Cubo

sonnel and destroyed all electric, telephone and telegraph communications." They said one of the ""commandes" was killed and that Trelles himself had been wounded. Miami News reporters discovered that the photos were faked, that Dr. Trelles' wound was a phony, and that the entire proceeding was fabrication.

Similar episodes have taken place, like the time Masferrer actually wrote a last will and testament and then "forgot" to go on the raid he said would take place.

One thing is clear: all the attacks that have happened, and they continue to happen, are made with weapons provided by the CIA or the Pentagon-AR-15s, fast motor boats, mother ships, etc., that were used in Vietnam. The evidence was captured in a number of raids.

The question remains: Will the American people allow these murder expeditions to continue, especially at a time when leading U.S. political figures are calling for recognition of socialist Cuba, for the resumption of trade and friendly relations? Such new relations would benefit the entire world seeking eagerly for an end to world tensions.

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## Approved For Release 2001/03/64: CIA-RDP80-01

## William Anderson

# One Can't Trust

# Spies Anymore

WASHINGTON, Nov. 6-Some of my best friends are spies.

I was talking to one the other day who was complaining that most Americans' seem to think that we don't need . any undercover agents, altho it is all right for the other side [sides] to have plenty of them.

There is a little bit of truth in what the spy says. Everybody knows that we have the Central Intelligence Agency because it gets blamed for everything that goes wrong in the spy business.

The spy-in-the-sky case in which Gary Powers got shot down in his high-flying U-2 airplane is perhaps the best known case, but the CIA also took the rap for the ill-fated invasion of Cuba which was to unseat Fidel Castro.

But the CIA is not really all that big and its job gets compounded because many, if not most, of the other government bureaus which do business overseas like to take individual shots at spying. This includes the Federal Bureau of Investigation with agents planted everywhere-from among revolutionary groups to Earth Day rallies.

At the last demonstration against the White House policies on Viet Nam, a rather small affair as demonstrations go, it was noticed by this reporter that

an awful let of the people mingling with the demonstrators didn't really look the part. Investigation disclosed they were from the Customs Office, Secret Service, Internal Revenue Service, United States Marshal's Office, or the Bureau of Nar-

colics, to name a few.

Not too many years ago, we learned of a diplomatic trip to Russia by an American [who shall not be named] who took along a group loaded with more gadgets to detect radiation than they could carry at one time. One of the gadgets was shaped like a slightly oversize fountain pen.

After we gave up the U-2 flights over Russia [but not China] the military developed cameras for space satellites that today are launched in secrecy from Vandenberg Air Force Base, Cal., to circle far above foreign nations. The detail from these pictures is amazing--

and helpful.



But this sort of thing is never talked about in more conventional places of American government, especially not at the State Department. There is a certain disdain shown toward spies and spying at state, a trait shared by diplomats of many Western nations.

So it was with interest that I listened when another spy-told me how William Rogers, secretary of state, had played a key role in helping Egypt purge its

nation of Communist spies,

The story the spy told us was that. Regers had been equipped with a wrist watch that could detect electronic eavesdropping equipment. This makes sense because there are any number of . minute electronic devices that could be detected by a watch of this kind.

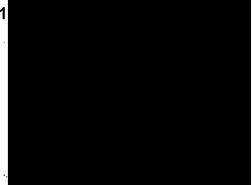
It is also on public record that East Europeans had indeed been expelled from Egypt for planting listening devices in a variety of official meeting

In any event, Rogers' watch was supposed to have sounded a signal during a private meeting with President Anwar Sadat that they were under electronic surveillance. Sadat, of course, heard the buzzing. I asked Rogers the other night if the story was true.

The secretary grinned and said he

had heard the same story.

"But," he insisted, "it just isn't true." It's getting so you can't even trust spies any more.



## Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-016

# The land where pegge is

## By Joseph North

s an American whose life spans four wars and who, extstyle extlow me to make a few observations on this 54th anniversary of the Soviet Union, the first workers' and farmers'

As a child I remember World War I and recall my relatives who died in it. In 1937 I covered the war that defended democracy in Spain as war correspondent for this newspaper's predecessor, the Daily Worker.

I did so again in World War II, that conflict the world's anti-fascists and the International Brigades had hoped to avert by "making Madrid the tomb of fas-

I stood in the concentration camp of Dachau, May 7, 1945, to report its capture by the allied troops the day the war ended. I was at Playa Giron in Cuba when the CIA launched its mercenaries against the revolutionary republic.

Four fierce conflicts in one man's life - enough for an eternity.

On this occasion, the 54th anniversary of the USSR's birth, I contend that the first workers' state is the world's firmest guarantee against World War III. That can be demonstrated if one will think objectively. I once wrote that no greater love hath a man for his country than to lay down his prejudices for it. I would wish all Americans could do so and assess the facts of this halfcentury's history.

The centrality of the Soviet Union in mankind's will for peace is being accepted by the majority of the world's war-weary peoples. It accounts for the warm response the Soviet leaders receive as they range the continents with their proposals to negotiate all differences in order to achieve detente — and more — in this world.

Consider the nations the leading Soviet statesmen have flown to, or with whom they have had negotiations on their own territory in recent months: Vietnam, France, Canada, Cuba, Bulgaria, Poland, Federal Republic of Germany, Algeria, Morocco, Yugoslavia, Hungary, India, Egypt, Yemen...

They come bearing the olive branch of peace. They are attuned to that primary demand of humanity today, a demand that is growing irresistible in this nuclear age.

Hence it will avail nobody to adopt measures of mad spy scenario last month; or the lunatic leap of the Hungarian fascist at Premier Kosygin — the synchronization freedom and independence of nations. of all these criminal assaults is subject to further scruSecretary Leonid Brezhnev said, "We proceed from the politics. Here one must point out that the CIA and Rabbi there is a mutual will for peace and no "attempts to con-Kahane's Jewish Defense League see eye to eye on the duct a 'positions of strength policy'" at the negotiating use of terror tactics,

Such wild measures are uncomfortably reminiscent only delay the fulfillment of that goal all Americans seek indicated by Nekrassov.

 peace and friendship, especially with that nation with whom we have the most reason to be peaceful and friendly. For conflict between the USSR and the USA can only result in mutual holocaust, and most human beings today have become aware of that. President Nixon himself said so a few days ago when he announced his "mission to Moscow."

His invitation came as no bolt from the blue; it is no accident of history. The invitation was the logical development of traditional Soviet policy, reaffirmed at its 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR.

Peaceful co-existence has been viviet policy since its beginning. The very first deed of the newly-born workers' and farmers' government led by Lenin was a call to the peoples of all warring powers to end the bloodshed.

Throughout the years the USSR has been the persistent protagonist of disarmament negotiations, proposals which always shocked the capitalist powers, bringing curses that ranged from cries of "Utopian" to "Red perfidy," invective inspired by such media as the Hearst press here. But the fine hand of the armaments lobbies could always be traced writing the backroom script for the journalists of jingoism.

Yet the Soviet Union persisted, undismayed. And the world can be thankful.

During the Thirties it tried to get the Western powers together in a collective security peace pact. As Hitler's policies lunged toward World War II, the USSR worked tirelessly to create an anti-fascist coalition. The name of Litvinoff became known, and his formula, "Peace is indivisible," resounded across the hemisphere. Tragically, the time had not yet come for the idea to triumph and World War II engulfed us all.

That war was won primarily because, as General Douglas MacArthur put it on Feb. 23, 1942: "The hopes of civilization rest on the worthy banners of the courageous Russian Army." Let us not forget that, for the war took 20 million Soviet lives, a third of its towns, factories and collective farms in European Russia. That immense damage only delayed the USSR's dynamic economic advance; reconstruction was completed with miraculous speed.

Once again we see most dramatically the galvanic effects of its peace policy. The Soviet writer Vadim Nekrassov traces it in the accompanying article he wrote in Pravda, October 15. He relates President Nixon's impending Moscow visit to the resolutions adopted at the desperation, like the snipers' shots at the UN mission of .24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party and to that the USSR; or the British Tory Government's fly-specked nation's course to implement the "all-out program of struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the

He reminds the world that at that congress General tiny, for an agency exists that is all too well known and assumption that it is possible to improve relations bewhich openly espouses such tactics as being legitimate in tween the USSR and the USA." Such advance can come if

Advances have been registered creating an atmosof Goebbels and Rosenberg a generation back; they can phere favoring preparations for the meeting; which are

## Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R 2 NOV 1971



### By JERRY GREENE

Washington, Nov. 1-Jose de la Torriente said today that a successful commando raid on the easertn port town of Sanco actually represented the launching of the guerrilla warfare phase of his "Free Cuban Nation" revolution against Fidel Castro. The raid took place last month.

Torriente said the commando unit seized and held the town for more than an hour, killed 14 or 15 Castro militamen and wounded others, destroyed radio and telephone communications, and blew up

the power plant.

Most importantly for both miltary and political propaganda purposes, the commandos withdrew on schedule without the loss of a man.

American officials, confirming Torriente's account of the quickie assault, said that this was the first time since Castro seized power in Cuba that a hit-and-run raid by anti-Communist forces had succeeded.

Torriente told us today that the Sama raid was truly the be-ginning of a series of guerrilla strikes: "We made sure we had the capability for continuity of operations before we began. We have in

American soil.

When he has the commando operations sufficiently expanded-say stepped up enough to hit three, four, or five ports in one night—then Torriente in-tends to notify the UN that a state of war exists between the Free Cuban Nation and the Castro government. Thereafter, under the planning, other nations will do business with Havana at

their own risk. The Torriente raiders seized and brought back a swatch of Castro's Interior Ministry documents from Sama, stamped on the same date as the raid, Oct. 12.

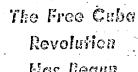
American officials recalled that the Havana radio broadcast a low-key version of the attack, centending that it consisted of nething more than a shelling from the sea by Yankee

imperialists sent out by the CIA and the Pentagon.
"The purpose of this initial operation," Torriente said, "was 50% military and 50% political. We wanted to demonstrate that Castro is not invulnerable.

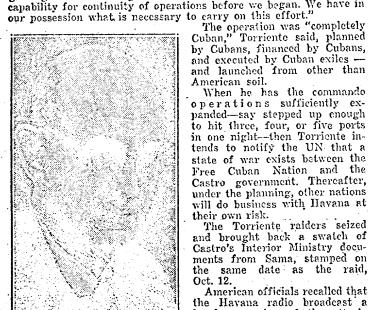
"I have waited 10 years to begin this war because I did not think it could be done before. Now we can lick Castro. We can lick him fast. Now he has 90% of the people against him."

It is to be recalled that Torriente was one of the few well-known Cubans who criticized the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion at

the time, contending that it was politically irrational and out of the context of historical reality, since Castro then held the approval of 85% of the Cuban people.



Hes Begun



Jose de la Torriente Setting up a free government

🐃 rie's Pulling the Factions Together

We ran across the Torriente revolutionaries about a year ago and, wrote an item about 11 months ago telling of their long-range plans and their intention to get into military action during 1971. That information came from lower-tanking members of the organization while the leader was out batting about the world trying to pull the assorted factions of Cuban exiles together in one meaningful movement.

Torriente in person, and some of his military staff, are impressive. The military part of his movement certainly learned a lesson after the fiannel-mouthed preparations for the Bay of Pigs deal were advertised to any who would listen, Castro included. Military action is cloaked in tight security; there are no U.S. training bases, no boastful officers, nothing. The leader is being most circumspect about doing anything that could get him in trouble with the U.S. government.

Torriente looks much more like a fugitive from a Chamber of Commerce chicken-and-peas dinner than the head of a revolution, and indeed he is. He is tall, thinnish, bespectacled, possesses quick humor, and radiates an intensity of purpose. He was a farmer in Cuba, president of the Coca-Cola company there and general manager in charge of Latin American operations for the Collins Radio Co. During World War II, he was in charge of the Office of Price and Supplies Regulations.

Wants Only to Liberate the People

At 66, Torriente has no personal political history; he disclaims any ambitions beyond helping pull together all exiles for the liberation of his country from Communist rule.

The leader created his secret military staff two years ago—"all professionals," he says, and they sound like it—held a unity convention in Miami in February 1970, and has enrolled members of a dozen of the factions into which the exiles have been split.

And, of course, he has been out raising money, all around the world, and he tells us he has funds in hand for the increasing rash of commando raids which has been 'scheduled.

Support From Latin American Allies

"I have said from the start that the movement had to be begun by the Latin American countries;" Torriente said, "and I have been proved right. They are all affected by Communist infiltration."

Torriente said he has obtained support from all of the Latin nations except Chile, now with a Communist government, and Peru and Ecuador. Nor is his army lacking for Cuban manpower; he estimates that 10,000 Cuban nationals have served hitches in the U.S. Army and Marine Corps. "We have more men available than we can afford," he says.

How the revolution comes out must evoit developments. But

How the revolution comes out must await developments. But there isn't the slightest doubt in the mind of Pepe Torriente. He has promised us a faster report on the next commando raid.

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# THE ASSASSINATION OF PRÉSIDENT KENNEDY THE PATTERN OF COUP D'ETAT AND PUBLIC DECEPTION

Edmund C. Berkeley
Editor, Computers and Automation

"We must begin to recognize history as it is happening to us. We can no longer toy with illusions. Our war adventures in Asia are not related to national security in any rational sense. ... A coup d'etat took place in the United States on November 22, 1963, when President John F. Kennedy was assassinated."

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. In May 1970, Computers and Automation published a 32-page article "The Assassination of President Kennedy: the Application of Computers to the Photographic Evidence" by Richard E. Sprague. The author made the following important statements (among others) which bear on the subject of this article:

(Beginning of Quotation)

Who Assassinated President Kennedy?

On November 22, 1963, in Dallas, Texas, President John F. Kennedy, while riding in an open limousine through Dealey Plaza and waving to the surrounding crowds, was shot to death. Lee Harvey Oswald, an ex-Marine, and former visitor to the Soviet Union. was arrested that afternoon in a movie theatre in another section of Dallas; that night he was charged with shooting President Kennedy from the sixth floor easternmost window of the Texas School Book Depository Building overlooking Dealey Plaza. This act Oswald denied steadily through two days of questioning (no record of questions and answers was ever preserved). Two days later while Oswald was being transferred from one jail to another, he was shot by Jack Ruby, a Dallas night-club owner, in the basement of the Dallas police station, while millions of Americans watched on television. The commission of investigation, appointed by President Lyndon B. Johnson, and headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren of the U.S. Supreme Court, published its report in September 1964, and concluded that  $0\,\mathrm{swald}$ was the sole assassin and that there was no conspiracy.

In view of the authority of the Warren Commission, that conclusion was accepted by many Americans for a long time. But the conclusion cannot be considered true by any person who carefully considers the crucial evidence — such as the physics of the shooting, the timing of a number of events, and other important and undeniable facts. In other words, Oswald was not the sole assassin, and there was a conspiracy.

This article will develop that thesis, prove it to be true on the basis of substantial, conclusive evidence, and in particular some analysis of the photographic evidence.

There was in fact a conspiracy. Oswald played a role in the conspiracy, although there is conclusive evidence that on November 22, 1963, he did no shooting at President Kennedy, and that, just as he claimed when he was in the Dallas jail, he was a "patsy." Approved For Release 2001/03/04 ICARDP80-01601R000500030001-6

ably four) — none of whom were in the sixth floor easternmost window of the Texas School Book Depostory building where the Warren Commission placed Oswald — fired a total of six shots at President Kennedy.

One of these shots missed entirely; one hit Governor John B. Connally, Jr., of Texas, riding with Kennedy; and four hit President Kennedy, one in his throat, one in his back, and two in his head. (The bulk of the undeniable evidence for these statements about the shots consists of: (a) the physics of the motions of Kennedy and Connally shown in some 60 frames of the famous film by Abraham Zapruder; (b) the locations of the injuries in Kennedy and in Connally; and (c) more than 100 pictures, consisting of more than 30 still photographs and more than 70 frames of movies.)

More than 50 persons were involved in the conspiracy at the time of firing the shots. These persons included members of the Dallas police force (but not all of the Dallas police — and that accounts for some strange events), elements of the Central Intelligence Agency, some anti-Castro Cuban exiles, some adventurers from New Orleans, and some other groups. After the assassination, some very highly placed persons in the United States government became accessories to the crime. In other words, they participated in assiduous concealment of important facts, in shielding the perpetrators of the crime, and in spreading a thick layer of rewritten history (in the manner of Goorge Orwell's famous novel "1984") over the whole crime.

Of course, asserting these statements makes them neither true nor believable. Without very strong evidence, it would be evil to make such statements. As to believability, prior to District Attorney. Jim Garrison's trial of Clay Shaw in New Orleans in Feb. and March, 1969, public opinion polls in the United States showed that over 75 percent of the people in the United States believed that there was a conspiracy. The press, radio, and TV almost everywhere in the United States reported Garrison's investigation and the New Orleans trial in a very distorted way. Furthermore, Garrison did not prove to the satisfaction of the New Orleans jury that Clay Show was involved in the conspiracy, even though he proved that Shaw knew and met Oswald. The news media of the United States (except for two newspapers in New Orleans) reported the trial in such a way as to show that no conspiracy existed. The media largely succeeded in changing U.S. public opinion, if we judge from the falling off of the

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greeted the publication of prising suggestions. The gram was sent, Sartre had Heberto Padilla's self-criti- work of the CIA is to de-replied in the negative to a cisms, as well as the Declara- stroy the Cuban revolution request to circulate and sign tion of the Congress on and turn the Caribbean a statement supporting Education and Culture, with Island back over to its cor- Ericka Huggins and Bobby exclamations of "Right porate American owners. To Seale against the state's at-On!" and, perhaps, "It's a- do this it uses many means tempt to execute them and bout time," welcomed the -only a few of them involv- calling on all intellectuals to two articles you published ing guns and bombs, many take a stand on their behalf. on the recent "Padilla af- involving pen and ink. fair." The "left" press in this country has largely ig. that those who criticize telling other intellectuals nored or abused the inform- Cuba from a rightist posi- what to do.) ation coming from Cuba re- tion have been so discently. Besides the Guar- credited that this is no dian, only the Peoples longer an option for those World, of all the papers I'm who want to attack the revaware of and see out here, olution. Instead, they now has published anything en-use pseudo-leftist positions lightening, and that limited -and til now, appear to do itself to publishing Padilla's so with impunity. Those own statement and some who are unmoved by good excerpts from the charges of "communism" good basic understanding of ready to discard the entire sity to struggle against bour-doesn't champion black revolutionary society.

The racism, the cultural perialism of the European this whole discussion-not and Northamerican left to belabor a point-is the which enables them to dic- extent to which it has extate to third world revolu- posed those "leftist" bourtions has to be combatted geois intellectuals who do from within these move- not want to lose their own ments. Fidel and the Cubans privileged status, while at have said that these pseudo- the same time appearing as leftist intellectuals will ex- supporters of revolution. pose themselves. This is hap- Edmundo Desnoes very aptpening and we should see ly commented that what we that it continues to do so, had was more an analysis of There are still many in this the European intellectuals country who believed that than an analysis of Cuba. the N.Y. Review of Books Prima donnas like Sartre such intellectuals as K.S. mately they would have be-

Congress. This was on the launched by the Voice of right track, but only helpful America at Latin America's to those who already had a First Free Territory are Cuba and/or of the neces- revolution when they hear it geois intellectualism in a nationalism or gay libera-

But the most important chauvinism and mental im- thing that has come out of stood for "enlightened revo- needed to be exposed. Intellutionary intellectualism." lectuals living in clite circles Those are the same ones needed to be forced to take who get up in arms when it a stand with the working is suggested there might be a peoples' revolutions or alink between the work of gainst them, because ulti-

Padilla, egain Karol or Rene Dumont and trayed them anyway. (It is Karon Wald, Berkeley, the enemies of revolution, interesting to note that a Calif.: Those of us who Yet these aren't such sur-week before the famed tele-His stated reason was that Fidel has pointed out he did not feel he should be

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD - SENATE

Police officials say that Mrs. Thanh is not imprisoned but is only being detained. Her lawyer, Nguyen Long, says she was put in a police hospital, which does not take prisoners or detainees, to avoid giving the impression that she is a prisoner.

A police doctor allowed the visitors to stay briefly. He said prolonged exposure to the tear gas might have aggravated her condition. Mrs. Thanh, who is staying in the same room with Miss Lan, appeared pallid; Miss Lan said she has been nauscated frequently and had vomited blood.

Mrs. Thanh was last arrested on Aug. 17 on charges of assault, and released temporarily on Sept. 16. No trial date was set. Miss Lan said Mrs. Thanh was treated decently and was given oxygen when breathing becamo difficult.

#### CUBA

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, the complex changes which have occurred in Cuba in the past 12 years have proved difficult for the outsider to evaluate. Regardless of our natural aversion to the authoritarian aspects of the regime, we owe ourselves as an objective an evaluation as possible of what has occurred in education, in health, in housing, in agriculture, in industrialization, in social and political justice.

For that reason, a series of articles such as those recently written by Martin Schram of Newsday are of considerable interest.

The articles, which followed a monthlong visit by Mr. Schram, provide substantial and important contributions to our understanding of what the Castro revolution has meant to the people of Cuba. For that reason, I strongly recommend them to the attention of Senators.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the following articles and editorials from Newsday.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### [From Newsday, July 27, 1971] THE CASTRO PROBLEM

In 1962 the United States slapped a stiff economic and political quarantine on Fidel Castro's Cuba. While the American fist has remained clenched over the past 11 years, events both inside Cuba and throughout Latin America have dramatically changed. For several reasons, the time is ripe for a searching reappraisal of our non-recognition of Havana.

For one thing, Fidel Castro is no longer a revolutionary giant-killer. If his image ever was valid, it failed to survive the demise of Che Guevara in the forests of Bolivia. For the only Latin American government approaching a Communist regime that has come to power in the interventing years was elected through classically democratic procedures. And that socialist government, Allende's Chile, enjoys full diplomatic relations with the United States.

But while Castro has failed to communize Latin America, he has successfully, though not democratically, consolidated his hold over the Cuban people. Washington's quarantine policy, which was designed to shake the Havana regime, has been no more successful, and about as ill-conceived, as was the abortive Bay of Pigs operation of 1961. To the extent that U.S. policy has had any effect at all, it has (a) enhanced Fidel Castro's martyr image in the eyes of the Cuban people; (b) increased Castro's de-pendency on Mescow, and (c) divided the hemisphere into pro-Castro and Western anti-Castro camps.

[From Newsday, Sept. 7, 1971] ENTHUSIASM

#### (By Martin Schram)

Immigration is moving slowly at Mexico City airport. Outside, the Soviet Hyushin II-18 prop-jet waits. Inside, one unusual task remains for the official with the redbrown face, slicked black hair and pencil-line moustache, a man whose appearance reveals that he is as Mexican as the pyramids of Teotihuacan.

The immigration man begins posing passengers in groups of five or six for official snapshot portraits. As the camera clicks, one passenger, a breaded American leftist, chirps: "Smile pretty for the CIA." Almost everybody laughs; but at the same time, almost everybody believes the bearded one is right. The CIA will want to know about this group, they figure, because this plane is heading to Cuba. The Mexican government will not answer questions about these photographs. "There are certain things that are done as a matter of policy they don't want to explain to anyone," Alberto Beccrra-Sierra, Mexican min-ister in Washington said. "This is strictly Mexican policy . . . but I don't think anyone here could fially deny that we've ever seen any of the photographs."

About 10 other Americans are boarding the scheduled Friday Cubana Airlines flight from Mexico to Havana, All say in conversations that they are political leftists, generally sympathetic to Fidel Castro's Cuba. All, of course, have been granted visas by the Cuban government. But many are traveling without the special U.S. State Department permission that is technically required since U.S. pass-ports officially prohibit travel to Cuba. Because there are no diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Cuba, Americans who want to go to Cuba must get there via Mexico or Spain or some other willing country.

The plane has a pleture of Ho Chi Minh and a small North Vietnamese flag inside. It takes off two hours late, and the passengers settle back to enjoy Cuban hospitality. For reading enjoyment there are copies of the official Cuban government newspaper, Granma. For smoking enjoyment there are Cuban cigars and cigarets. For dining enjoyment there is Cuban luncheon cuisine: broth, beef, rice, peas, cake, sweet dark coffee and beer on the rocks-an almost amber Cuban brew that is chilled by being poured over a chunk of ice. On the ground in Havana about three hours later, passengers are greeted by a fellow with a tray of frozen daiquiris.

So begins the first 28 days in Cuba. First impressions are striking and a month later they still remain valid as keys to life in Cuba today:

- The slogans that are everywhere: It is more than 12 years since Castro came to power and Cubans are still being urged at every turn to sacrifice, to give their all for their island republic. Billboards, red neon signs atop buildings and even water towers signs atop bundings and even water towers cerve up pep-talk slogans: "1971—Year of Productivity," "To Die for the Fatherland Is to Live" and Fidel Castro's favorite speech-closer, "Fatherland or Death! We Shall Vanquish." There is no commercial advertising on billboards, but there are scores of portraits of Jose Marti (Cuba's father figure) and Ernesto (Che) Guevara to remind Cubans of revolutionary sacrifices past; and there are scores of billboards proclaiming "Liberty for Angela Davis" to remind Cubans of revolutionary sacrifices

The absence of beggars: Unlike most other countries in Latin America, there are no children or adults stopping strangers to plead with hungry, hollow eyes for a few centavos for food. But foreigners in Cuba are often stopped by children asking for "Chiclets" and by adults asking for eigarets, because chewing gum cannot be bought

... under the tight rations system in Cuba, CUBA TODAY: SHABBINESS, LONG LINES AND and cigaret rations are down to a pack a week.

The long lines of people: Lines a block long waiting to get into restaurants and snack counters. Lines in shops and even grocery stores, where ration books must be checked. On a summer evening at the famed Coppelia ice-cream emporium in Havana, one must often wait an hour in a line to get a ticket to stand in another line for 45 minutes to get to the counter to buy one of the world's most delicious ice-cream cones for one peso (\$1).

The people in the lines: They are quiet and polite. There is no gay backslapping and Joking that one might expect of the Cubans in another era or another locale. But neither are there frequent or heated disputes over who got in line first. Not sur-prisingly, there are Cubans standing in lines who grumble unhappily over the economic woes that make life so difficult in Cuba. But there seem to be more people standing in the lines who say (to an American reporter) that they are willing to put up with the inconveniences for the sake of the revolution. "The cola [line] is now a way of life in Cola," observed one Cuban official, laughing!" We ourselves tell the joke about the man who stopped to light a cigaret outside a movie theater and when he turned around 50 people had formed a cola behind

The emptiness of the stores: The big department stores along Galiano Street in downtown Havana-La Epoca, Fin de Siglo, Flogar-are still open, but not really open for business. They stand like empty caverns; a child cries out in one store and his voice echoes as in a tunnel. There are rows and rows of bare shelves. Material purchases are restricted to necessities; the population is divided into groups, with only one group able to shop on any given day. In one corner of each store is a cluster of shiny appliances: refrigerators assembled in Cuba, Soviet television sets, East German radios, blenders, pressure cookers; but all these are sold only to honored people who have been chosen as the best workers in their factories by colleagues in their government-run trade union.

The general shabbiness of the city of Hayana: Buildings stand in need of repair, seemingly last painted before the Castro revolution.

The American cars from the pre-Castro 1950s: Vintage models that have long since lost their paint and original parts, but that creak along adequately in tribute to Cuba's mechanics.

The public telephones, which are free: The most recent phone book in Havana, entitled "1967—Year of Heroic Vietnam," has a cover portrait of Fidel with Cuban soldiers in fatigues and Vietnamese soldiers in blue pajamas.

The Havana Libre Hotel, built by Hilton just before the Revolution, run now by the Castro government as the mainstay for government-invited tourists: A large modern lobby decorated year round in what looks like pastel Christmas ornamentation, with a beautiful glass dome roof that leaks like a sieve during the frequent afternoon rains. The carpets are faded and worn, the elevator operators and desk clerks most courte-ous, the telephone operators overworked butunnecessarily rude. And the laundry service is run by people who will promise four days straight to pick up soiled clothes and then not show up, and who will repeat this the following week to show that the first performance was no fluxe.

The femininity that remains: Foreigners usually note that all Cuban girls now military training in high school and that uniformed Cuban women direct traffic. They might take a quick glance and conclude that Cuban women have abandoned the feminine

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# President Without Mandate, LBI Faced Bitterness, Fear

STATINTL

This is the second of 12 articles excerpted from LBJ's book, "The Vantage Point."

BY LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON .

In spite of more than three decades of public service, I knew I was an unknown quantity to many of my countrymen and to much of the world when I assumed office.

I suffered another handicap, since I had come to the presidency not through the collective will of the people but in the wake of tragedy. I had no mandate from the voters.

A few people were openly bitter about my becoming president. They found it impossible to transfer their intense loyalties from one president to another. I could understand this, although it complicated my task. Others were apprehensive. This was particularly true within the black community. Just when the blacks had had their hopes for equality and justice raised, after centuries of misery and despair, they awoke one morning to discover that their future was in the hands of a president born in the South.

YET IN SPITE of these yearnings for a fallen leader, in spite of some bitterness, in spite of apprehensions, I knew it was imperative that I grasp the reins of power and do so without delay. Any hesitation or wavering, any false step, any sign of self-doubt, could have been disastrous.

During my first 30 days in office I believe I averaged no more than four or five hours' sleep a night. If I had a single moment when I could go off alone, relax, and forget the pressures of business, I don't recall it.

On Saturday morning, Nov. 23, I walked into Mc-George Bundy's office in the basement of the White House and received an international intelligence briefing from John McCone, director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

On that sad November morning in 1963, the international front was about as peaceful as it ever gets in these turbulent times. The world, it seemed, had ceased its turmoil for a moment — caught in the shock of John Kennedy's death.

PRESIDENT Kennedy had kept me well informed on world events, so I was not expecting any major surprises in that first intelligence briefing.

Only South Vietnam gave me real cause for concern. The next day, Nov. 24, I received my first full-dress briefing from Henry Cabot Lodge, who had just returned to Washington from his post as ambassador in Saigon. But compared with later periods, even the situation in Vietnam at that point appeared to be relatively free from the pressure of immediate decisions.

The most important foreign policy problem I faced was that of signaling to the world what kind of man I was and what sort of policies I intended to carry out.

On Monday, Nov. 25, I met with President Charles de Gaulle of France. Just a few hours before our conversation, I received a report from Paris of a recent meeting between De Gaulle and an Allied ambassador. They had discussed what the European response would be in the event of a Soviet invasion of Western Europe.

PRESIDENT de Gaulle, according to the report, had said that the United States could not be counted on in such an emergency. He mentioned that the United States had been late in arriving in two world wars and that it had required the holocaust of Pearl Harbor to bring us into the latter.

With this account fresh in my mind, I met with the French president. I thanked him for crossing the Atlantic to express the sympathy of France in our hour of sadness.

The general spoke of the affection that both he and the French people had felt for John Kennedy. He then went on to say that the difficulties between our two countries had been greatly exaggerated, and that while changing times called for certain adjustments in our respective roles, the important thing was that Frenchmen knew perfectly well they could count on the United States if France were attacked.

I STARED hard at the French president, suppressing a smile. In the years that followed, when De Gaulle's criticism of our role in Viet-

nam became intense, I' had many occasions to remember that conversation. The French leader doubted - in private, at least - the will of the United States to live up to its commitments. He did not believe we would honor our NATO obligations, yet he critics and us for honoring a communicatelsewhere in the world. If we had taken his advice to abandon Vietnam, I suspect he might have cited that as "proof" of what he had been saying all along: that the United States could not be counted on in times of trouble.

Having met with the leader of France, our oldest ally, I turned to our relations with an adversary: the Soviet Union. On Tuesday morning, Nov. 26, Soviet Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan came to my office. I knew that I was dealing with one of the shrewdest men ever to come up through the Communist hierarchy, one of the few surviving Bolsheviks with real power. Mikoyan had been brought to Moscow by. Stalin in 1926, had escaped innumerable purges, and had demonstrated an uncanny ability to survive and to associate himself with the right faction at the right time.

WE TALKED for 55 minutes, and the conversation was not all diplomatic pleasantries, I remembered how Nikita Khrushchev had misjudged President Kennedy's character and underestimated his toughness after their 1961 meeting in Vienna. That misjudgment, many people believe, led Khrushchev to test the United States with a new crisis in Berlin, I considered it essential to let Mikoyan understand that while the United States wanted peace more than anything

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## Another U.S. assault

At the press conference in which he announced his Moscow trip, President Nixon said that "Cuba is one possibility" among the "peripheral" subjects which might be discussed in Moscow. That would depend, he said, on what the situation was at the time of the meeting.

The Cuba situation is not a matter of next May but of yesterday, and today, and tomorrow. The name of the game is murder; and Washington, not Moscow, is its

source.

Washington is the source because the Nixon administration continues the wretched policy of blockade and counterrevolution against the first socialist nation in the western hemisphere.

The notion that U.S. imperialism could resolve its problems in Latin America by strangling Cuba economically has proved idiotic. So too, the notice that CIA-sponsored assassination could overthrow the socialist government. But the orders from the White House are to let it go on. hat's why murder gangs are organized in the U.S.; that's why they are permitted to launch their piratical expeditions from here.

The murder expedition which raked a Cuban fishing hamlet Tuesday night with sheets of gunfire, taking the

lives of two Cubans, was made in the U.S.

These are CIA-abetted murders. The targets were not the two Cubans who were slain, and the four who were wounded, but the socialist regime of Cuba and, in a larger sense, the heaving liberation movement throughout Latin America.

The interest of the people of all the Americas lies in ending the blockade against Cuba and resisting to the fullest the threats of U.S. imperialism directed there.



# TOW Gastro Wisles Station Reporters

Cuban desector explains way U.S. press is socied

By PAUL BETHEL

American reporters in Cuba are generally taken for a merry ride by Fidel Castro's propaganda machine. Likewise, starry-eyed youths found in the ranks of so-called Venceremos Brigades. This much is known or at least suspected. But just how Castro's machine operates remained pretty much of a mystery until revealed recently by a Castro defector and high-level operative in the Department of State Security, Francisco Teira.

In recent testimony before a Senate subcommittee, Teira tells of the sophisticated mechanisms in a Communist society which, he said, trapped James Reston and Bernard Collier of the New York Times, Al Burt of the Miami Herald, Burt Quint of CBS, and added to the pro-Castro biases of Lee Lockwood, Saul Landau, Joel Iglesias, Charles McClatchy of the Sacramento Bee and many more.

Teira said of McClatchy: "He was another one who received the treatment, although actually you can't say that he needed it. He was already very much in accord with the revolution, and the treatment he received in Cuba was all that he needed."

"We used to take a journalist and begin to talk about the situation in Cuba." Teira continued. "We would criticize the government and ourselves by admitting that everything was not perfect." This was to establish some credibility with the reporter before the crunch was applied.

Conversations often were timed, said Teira, "to coincide with our approach to a hut inhabited by a peasant family." Then, the acting began. Teira would turn to the reporter and say: "Well, here is a hut. It is the first one we have come across.... I will go so far as letting you

go up there by yourself." The about-tobe duped reporter would do so, and come away impressed by what he thought was a frank interview.

The peasants interviewed, however, were, in Teira's words, "security agents who were wholeheartedly praising the revolution, Fidel Castro, the new life, medical attention and other things that a good Communist is expected to say."

Little wonder, then, that James Reston of the Times should have remarked in a filmed interview from Cuba: "I think in fairness to Castro you have to say that he has made a good beginning here in many, many ways," adding, "I think he's got the support of the people."

Considerable care was given to cultivating the New York Times. Teira said of former Timesman Bernard Collier: "There was no standard procedure because it was tailored according to the individual. Sometimes it was subtle... for instance, Collier received the treatment but it was more subtle. As a result, his articles were more or less acceptable...even though he had a certain amount of criticism in them." On balance, then, the Castro regime feels that it has been getting its money's worth in stories out of the New York Times.

Castro's internal intelligence apparat is so sophisticated that it even produces "dissenters." Security agents, posing as peasants, taxi drivers, bar girls and even priests; voice some dissent with the regime. But, Teira says, "dissent is expressed in such a way as to place emphasis that prior to the revolution immoral things were within reach of those who today complain that they cannot enjoy them because the revolution has

#### STATINTL

eliminated them." These major and nitpicking complaints are advanced by Castro agents posing as dissenters, said Teira, because "they contribute to discrediting the individual who spoke against the revolution... an artfully contrived encounter."

These "encounters" serve another purpose. "After such treatment," Teira continues, "we had an approximate idea of how the journalist would react to a meeting with a minister to whom we gave a briefing about the attitude of the journalists." In other words, if a reporter was taken in by such hi-jinks he generally got to interview Fidel Castro.

Those not taken in—notably Ike Flores and John Fenton Wheeler of Associated Press—were either expelled from the country or "were given no information at all."

The airlift of Cubans to the United States (now cancelled by Castro, presumably since it has served its purpose) was also explained by the Castro agent. Certain Cubans still managed on occasion to get their anti-Castro messages across to U.S. visitors in Cuba. "Whenever we could spot any of these informants," said Teira, "we would send them to a rehabilitation camp or, if nothing damaging could be found against them, we found it more expedient to give them an exit permit to go to the United States."

Teira indicates how important this device proved to be in depressing internal resistance. "This was a very effective way to get people out of the way, because these people were usually dissenters who did not sympathize with the revolution and they wanted to leave the country anyway. For this reason they could always be approached and thus

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# Intellectual

By Martin Schram

Newsday Washington Bureau

This is the fifth in a series of articles based on a recent 28-day visit to Cuba

the American air-conditioner emits only Vsilence, stilled because spare parts cannot be bought. All that is heard in the room is the creak of the rocking chair, as the postwriter ponders the future.

"I think," says Roberto Fernandez Retamar, "that we have reached the point where there will not be any

need for future action like we have seen."

Fernandez Retamar is talking about the arrest and detention last spring of a colleague, Heberto Padilla. A poet and writer who conveyed pessimistic and critical views of Fidel Castro's regime, Padilla was jailed for 36 days—and released only after signing a. 4,000-word confession proclaiming the error of his ways.

Fernandez Retamar figures Padilla had it coming, that he had been damaging the revolution through "intellectual sabotage—something no revolution can allow." But rocking back and forth in the office of the Casa de las Americas literary review, which he edits, Fernandez Retamar says it is also likely that the case of Heberto Padilla will be a one-time thing.

A number of leading Cuban intellectuals interviewed agreed with Fernandez Retamar, They believe there will probably not be any more arrests of literary figures. They say there will be no more arrests because Cuba's intellectuals have gotten the message. And several add that there will be no more arrests because the Padilla case created global shockwaves that have left Cuban officials less than pleasod.

In the past year, the regime of Fidel Castro has come down hard on free expression in Cuba. It has forged a firm code by which intellectuals are to live within the ongoing Cuban revolution. And in the process it has bitterly alienated many intellectual figures of the western world who were once keenly attracted to Castro's revolutionary ways.

The case of Heberto Padilla created more stir in intellectual circles; but the doings of Cuba's first National Congress on Education and Culture were

every bit as significant.

The Congress on Education and Culture was held in April, while Padilla was still the enforced guest of the agents of State Security. But Padilla was at the

congress in spirit--Fidel Castro saw to that, as he spoke obliquely about the Padilla affair during an address to the Congress in which he never used the poet-writer's name.

Castro spoke of "sheep that have gone astray, that may have some problems with the Revolution because they are not 'given the right' to continue their poison, their plots and intrigue against the Revolu-

Beaming his words at his intellectual critics abroad, Castro said that no longer will Cuban magazines and literary contests welcome persons who are not true revolutionaries. He added: "Only revolutionaries-without doubt; hesitation or halfway measures--will find our doors open to them. Now you know it, bourgeois intellectuals and bourgeois libelants, agents of the CIA and intelligence services of imperialism, that is, of the intelligence and espionage services of imperialism: You will not be allowed to come to Cuba!"

All of this stands in stark contrast to what Fidel Castro was saying in the mid-1960s. Latin American scholar Jose Yglesias recalls, for example, that during that period Castro once said in an interview with American journalist Lee Lockwood: "I especially am a partisan of the widest possible discussion in the intellectual realm . . . I believe that ideas must be able to defend themselves. I am opposed to the blacklist of books, prohibited films and all such things.

Cuba has had increased economic problems in the years since, and perhaps, some intellectuals concede, that is the reason for the tougher recent position. No one in Cuba can give a definite answer as to precisely why Padilla was arrested—not even Padilla. The poet says he was arrested only for "counterrevolutionary" activity, and he confesses to vanity and negativism in past writings and to talking with foreign intellectuals such as K. S. Karol and Rene Dumont, who later wrote books finding fault with some of Castro's poli-

A number of Cuban sources also report that

bountface

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NEWSDAY 5 1971

STATINTL

# Shabbiness, Long Lines and Enthusiasm

ewsday Washington Bureau reporter Martin chram was recently granted a visa to visit Cuba nd report on conditions there. Such a visa, arely granted to American journalists, enabled chram to spend 28 days visiting many parts of ne island nation and speaking to Cubans in all alks of life, from officials to farm workers. This his first article in a series on life in Cuba today.

### By Martin Schram Newsday Washington Bureau

mmigration is moving slowly at Mexico City airport. Outside, the Soviet Ilyushin Il-18 propjet waits. Inside, one unusual task remains for the official with the red-brown face, slicked black hair and pencil-line moustache, a man hose appearance reveals that he is as Mexican as the yramids of Teotihuacan.

The immigration man begins posing passengers in roups of five or six for official snapshot portraits. As he camera clicks, one passenger, a bearded American eftist, chirps: "Smile pretty for the CIA." Almost verybody laughs; but at the same time, almost verybody believes the bearded one is right. The CIA vill want to know about this group, they figure, pecause this plane is heading to Cuba. The Mexican overnment will not answer questions about these photographs. "There are certain things that are done as a matter of policy they don't want to explain to myone,". Alberto Becerra-Sierra, Mexican minister in Washington, said. Meanwhile, a U.S. State Department spokesman said, "This is strictly Mexican policy . . . but I don't think anyone here could flatly deny that we've ever seen any of the photographs."

About 10 other Americans are boarding the scheduled Friday Cubana Airlines flight from Mexico to Havana. All say in conversations that they are political leftists, generally sympathetic to Fidel Castro's Cuba. All, of course, have been granted visas by the ling to get into restaurants and snack counters. Lines

Cuban government. But many are traveling without the special U.S. State Department permission that is technically required since U.S. passports officially prohibit travel to Cuba. Because there are no diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Cuba, Americans who want to go to Cuba must get there via Mexico or Spain or some other willing country.

The plane has a picture of Ho Chi Minh and a small North Vietnamese flag inside. It takes off two hours late, and the passengers settle back to enjoy Cuban hospitality. For reading enjoyment there are copies of the official Cuban government newspaper, Granma. For smoking enjoyment there are Cuban cigars and cigarets. For dining enjoyment there is Cuban luncheon cuisine: broth, beef, rice, peas, cake, sweet dark coffee and beer on the rocks-an almost amber Cuban brew that is chilled by being poured over a chunk of ice. On the ground in Havana about three hours later, passengers are greeted by a fellow with a tray of frozen daiquiris.

So begins the first of 28 days in Cuba. First impressions are striking and a month later they still remain valid as keys to life in Cuba today:

The slogans that are everywhere: It is more than 12 years since Castro came to power and Cubans are still being urged at every turn to sacrifice, to give their all for their island republic, Billboar 1 red neon signs atop buildings and even water towers is a pen-talk slogans: "1971—Year of Productivity," "Fo-Die for the Fatherland Is to Live" and Fidel Castro's favorite speech-closer, "Fatherland or Death! We Shall Vanquish." There is no commercial advertising on billboards, but there are scores of portraits of Jose Marti (Cuba's father figure) and Ernesto (Che) Guevara to remind Cubans of revolutionary sacrifices past; and there are scores of billboards proclaiming "Liberty for Angela Davis" to remind Cubans of revolutionary sacrifices present.

The absence of beggars: Unlike most other countries in Latin America, there are no children or adults stopping strangers to plead with hungry, hollow eyes for a few centavos for food. But foreigners in Cuba are often stopped by children asking for "Chiclets" and by adults asking for cigarets, because chewing gum cannot be bought under the tight rations system in Cuba, and cigaret rations are down to a pack a week.

The long lines of people: Lines a block long wait-

continued

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NEW YORK DATLY NEWS 4 SEP 1971

Frenchmon Gors

Havana, Sept. 3 (Reuter)—Pierre Golendorf, 59, a French citizen, was sentenced to 10 years as a spy, according to the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina. The agency, quoting official sources, said that under pretext of working as journalist, photographer and translator, Golendorf engaged in spying against Cuba for the United States Central Intelligence Agency. Agency.

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SEPTEMBER 1971

Dossier

On the

Down R. Carson

For some time I have been disturbed by the way the CIA has been diverted from its original assignment. It has become an operational and at times policy-making arm of the government. I never thought when I set up the CIA that it would be injected into peacetime cloak-and-dagger operations.—ex-President Harry S. Truman.

OTHING has happened since that pronouncement by the agency's creator in December 1963 to remove or reduce the cause for concern over the CIA's development. As currently organized, supervised, structured and led, it may be that the CIA has outlived its usefulness. Conceivably, its very existence causes the President and the National Security Council to rely too much on clandestine operations. Possibly its reputation; regardless of the facts, is now so bad that as a foreign policy instrument the agency has become counter-productive. Unfortunately the issue of its efficiency, as measured by its performance in preventing past intelligence failures and consequent foreign policy fiascos, is always avoided on grounds of "secrecy". So American taxpayers provide upwards of \$750,000,000 a year for the CIA without knowing how the money is spent or to what extent the CIA fulfils or exceeds its authorized intelligence functions.

The gathering of intelligence is a necessary and legitimate activity in time of peace as well as in war. But it does raise a very real problem of the proper place and control of agents who are required, or authorized on their own recognizance, to commit acts of espionage. In a democracy it also poses the dilemma of secret activities and the values of a free society. Secrecy is obviously essential for espionage but it can be – and has been – perverted to hide intelligence activities even from those with the constitutional responsibility to sanction them. A common rationalization is the phrase "If the Ambassador/Secretary/President doesn't know he won't have to lie to cover up." The prolonged birth of the CIA was marked by a reluctance on the part of politicians and others to face these difficulties, and the agency as it came to exist still bears the marks of this

What we need to do is to examine how the U.S. gathers its intelligence, and consider how effective its instruments are and what room there is for improvement. Every government agency must be accountable, as Richard Helms, the

of Newspaper E be supervised i Intelligence Age The time is lo supervisory role Central Intellig War. Under this CIA administra of inquiry by i and specifically requiring discle titles, salaries CIÁ; (ii) expe tions on exper the Director's without adver-Government a the Governme for staff abroad their families 1949 Central I Director a lice

With so must seen by mastine coups, in Guatemala Mossadegh i the Cuban I failure). The President Kei 28, 1961, wheralded — y Because the agency's "m....

STATINTL

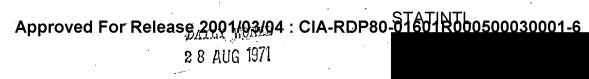
representative of the unending gambitry and biggs. Statistics human aspect of espionage and secret operations. At this level the stakes are lower and the "struggle" frequently takes bizarre and even ludicrous twists. For, as Alexander Foote noted in his Handbook for Spies, the average agent's "real difficulties are concerned with the practice of his trade. The setting up of his transmitters, the obtaining of funds, and the arrangement of his rendezvous. The irritating administrative details occupy a disproportionate portion of his waking life."

As an example of the administrative hazards, one day in 1960 a technical administrative employee of the CIA stationed at its quasi-secret headquarters in Japan flew to V Singapore to conduct a reliability test of a local recruit. On arrival he checked into one of Singapore's older hotels to receive the would-be spy and his CIA recruiter. Contact was made. The recruit was instructed in what a lie detector test does and was wired up, and the technician plugged the machine into the room's electrical outlet. Thereupon it blew out all the hotel's lights. The ensuing confusion and darkness did not cover a getaway by the trio. They were discovered, arrested, and jailed as American spies.

By itself the incident sounds like a sequence from an old Peters Sellers movie, however, its consequences were not nearly so funny. In performing this routine mission the CIA set off a two-stage international incident between England and the United States, caused the Secretary of State to write a letter of apology to a foreign chief of state, made the U.S. Ambassador to Singapore look like the proverbial cuckold, the final outcome being a situation wherein the United States Government lied in public—

and was caught!

CIA's Director, a Approved For Release 2001903/04: CIA-RDP80-01601R000500030001-6





letes returning from successful victory. competition in Cali, Colombia.

sports, which has developed as tremendous sports boom in Cuba, one of the objectives of our social the countries of Latin America effort, a social effort which has have won many more medals than cost us a great deal of effort, a the United States. great deal of sweat and blood ...? activities.

Yankees out of our politics, out of day for sports. This is inevitable. our economy, out of everything. tives of our Revolution in spite of ple! everything they have done to impede and frustrate our efforts.

This shameless individual keeps mum about this, too. And then he pops up making statements to the. effect that we use sports as an instrument.

forts and crimes - crimes perpessivity reflected by our fishermen.

Pollowing are the concluding trated against our country to frustracorets from the spaces by trate its efforts to benefit man -Prime Minister Fidel Costro de- in spite of all that, our country is livered in Havana to Caban ath- prospering and scoring this kind of

Castro, commenting on a dis- Before the U.S. used to win patch by the president of the U.S. more medals than all the coun-Olympics Committee, continues: tries of Latin America put to-Why all this fuss about our gether. Now, however, after the

We have won victories for our All this wasn't attained by sim- own country and victories for ply snapping our fingers. We Latin America. The U.S. has a weren't able to kick the Yankee population of 200 million. When wemonopolies out without any ef- join our medals with those of the fort; it took sweat and blood for other Latin-American countries. our country to really get the reins in spite of the fact that those of its destiny in its own hands -- countries don't have the condito such an extent that we have be- tions that Cuba has for the developcome a rival of the United States ment of sports... We don't have in any of these fields of numan the slightest doubt that, with the passing of time, all the Latin-Among other things, in order to: American countries will have the compete, we first had to get the same conditions that Cuba has to-

The results of all these social We had to get rid of the monopol- efforts are being reflected in a ies and the imperialists. But not a better physical foundation. a word is said about that. How come better educational foundation, a this gentleman doesn't say a word better cultural foundation for about how our country has had to sports. And, moreover, we are struggle for these human object gaining experience. It reflects a tives throughout these years in technique which is much more the midst of sabotage, uninter- developed than any we had before rupted economic blockage, acts of and which we have obtained aggression, infiltration, attempts thanks to the cooperation of the at subversion, attacks and every other socialist countries. It also other sort of villainy? That is what reflects - and this is very importhappened. And what really hurts ant - the conduct of our athletes them the most is the fact that we and the spirit of our people, for have attained these human object they reflect the spirit of our peo-

This spirit is reflected in a series of activities, such as those of the young people of the Centennial Youth Column in productive work; it is the spirit reflected by our National Heroes of Labor and by the hundreds of cane-cutters who What he should say is that, de-have cut as much as 25,000, 50,000 spite all of the imperialists' ef- or 75,000 cwt. of cane; it is the

in the dignity they maintain when, jailed and taken around in chains, they stand firm and incorruptible; it is the spirit of our young people who are in the vanguard in their studies. This is the result of the new spirit of our people, of our younger generation, the result of this new, very revolutionary spirit, which places a high value on the dignity and spiritual values

The young people who represent Cuba at these events are spiritual heirs of our independence fighters; of the men who attacked the Moncada; of the men of the Granma and the Sierra Maestra; of the men of the Escambray, Giron and all the other struggles of our people. They are their spiritual heirs, and they act accordingly! Our people are proud of our sports delegations not only for their sports victories but also for their brave and firm patriotic conduct....

We'd like to say something else: when we mentioned the hostility of the imperialists and their agents, it's only fair that we-also mention - for this is very encouraging to us - the attitude of the people toward our delegations. Even in countries where the imperialists have ruled for a longtime, as is the case with Puerto Rico, our delegation was received with great affection. And we will never forget the tremendous demonstrations of affection with which our delegation was received in the Dominican Republic during the baseball games held there. This is something which is also on the upswing, in spite of all publicity campaigns, lies and intrigues.

Among other intrigues, there is the case of the masseur who died either by accident or through suicide - we really don't know which for whose death they have tried to blame the Cuban delegation. accusing our delegation of mur-

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BOSTON, MASS. GLOBE

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REPORT FROM CUBA: 3... By JAMES HIGGINS

# Long list of grievances against

- HAVANA - "From April 19, 1961, up to the present," said the young man from Cuba's Ministry of Foreign Relations, "we have publicly announced 87 separate aggressions against our country by the CIA." He emphasized the "publicly."

He said that Cubans had been very interested in the information which the Pentagon Papers had provided to the people of the US.

"Partly," he added, "because we , are sure that the people in your country do not yet know that for 10 years, ever since the Bay of Pigs invasion, which we defeated, there has become consistent espionage, sabotage, infiltration and raids conducted by the CIA against Cuba.'

I asked if he were certain that all were the work of the CIA. I reminded him that there were several thousand Cuban exiles in the US and that a number of them, especially those of the Alpha 66 organization insisted they were operating on their own in their efforts to penetrate Cuba.

"Well," he said, "if there were several hundred thousand North Americans in Cuba, and if some of these were not only openly declaring their intent to invade but also, from time to time, sneaking ashore with guns, ammunition and explosive equipment, you would assume that all this could not happen without the cooperation of agencies of the Cuban government."

And, he went on, if, in addition, official Cuban government planes, such as US U-2s and SR71s were flying along the US coast and photographing US territory, it would be hard not to conclude that the nation to within a low home was trained and will be

upon your territory and sovereignty.

"Let me give," he said, "a few specifics from a document we published about a year ago." He quoted:

"1-On June 13, 1964, a CIA craft based in the US attacked and sank a Cuban ship to the north of Isabela de Sagua."

"2--In May of 1965 members of a network of CIA agents who were sending secret information to the US through the Guantanamo Naval Base were captured in Camaguey:"

"3—On Dec. 29, 1967, a light plane proceeding from Homestead, Fla., was shot down here. The pilot, US citizen Everett D. Jackson, was . He said that he thought it was even captured. He had air-dropped arms and espionage equipment in the northern part of Las Villas Province:"

"4-On Sept. 12, 1969, counterrevolutionary agent Jose Antonio Quesada Fernandez landed in Oriente Province. He was captured with war material and espionage equipment found on him. He was tried by a revolutionary court, convicted and executed:"

"5-On April 17, 1970, a group of mercenaries proceeding from the US and armed with the latest weapons used by the US Army landed near Baracoa in Oriente Province, The group was put out of action. Some were captured, others killed."

He said that two years ago a CIA spy had been detected here in the Mexican Embassy where, in the guise of a diplomatic officer, he attempted to cover his efforts to gain information from highly placed Cubans and to communicate reports by radio to the CIA as well as sending written which did this had bad intentions messages and photographs. "Every-

thing the spy Humberto Carillo Colon did was intercepted by our counterintelligence authorities," he said, "and most of the documentation was published, including the instructions he had received to pretend he was writing a book about 'The Men Around Castro," one of the stated objectives being to try and find out who? might lead a faction against Fidel."

Perhaps in time to come, he said, from CIA or other US government files, it will become clear that a long campaign of secret aggression - segret from the US people but not from us — has been waged against Cuba. possible the US people did not know of their government's interference with Cuban trade, using such methods as pressure upon other governments and private companies to prevent Cuba from selling nickel, for example, or from buying machinery, tools and spare parts.

"We regard the haven and support the US government gives to Cubans who have left their country," he added, "as similar to the policy the US government has followed - up to lately - toward the Chiang Kai-shek elements on Taiwan, a US protectorate for more than 20 years. These elements have, it is now admitted, been raiding and penetrating the Chinese mainland, just as Cuban exile elements have been doing here. The only difference is that now the USsponsored activities against the Peoples Republic of China are becoming public knowledge. Presumably this means they will stop. Of course that is a guess. We don't know."

NEXT: If a student is bad, he goes to the head of the line. STATINTL

# Cuba's Padilla Case - the

# consequences of individualism

By Irwin Silber

If counter-revolution always appeared before us in the familiar trappings of James Bond movies or the more obvious maneuverings of CIA-inspired intrigue, we should not have any great difficulty in recognizing it for what it is. Even "leftist" bourgeois intellectuals might comprehend such a menace and fingering their collective ideological reserves while carefully crossing their legs, they might keep their revolutionary purity intact.

But counter-revolution is not always the handiwork of a CIA think-tank. All too often it comes disguised in the rhetoric of "solidarity with the principles" of the struggle, or concern with what is all-too-easily described as "socialist morality," but turns out to be, on closer inspection, a predisposition for the outmoded class values of duting hourseois society.

values of dying bourgeois society.

In a recent statement concerning the "case" of Herberto Padilla, a group of 60 European, North American and (mostly-expatriate) Latin American intellectuals, notified the Cuban government of their mutual "shame and anger" over the imprisonment and public self-criticism of the Cuban poet.

#### "Insufferable"

It is, one must say in all candor, an insufferable statement. It accuses the Cuban government of using torture to extract what it describes as a "confession" containing "absurd accusations and delirious assertions" and goes on to invoke the paralyzing image of a suddenly-revived and all-pervading "Stalinism" in Cuban cultural affairs.

While it is not the intent of this article to respond merely with a counter-polemic, I have to confess that I begin myself with feelings of "shame and anger" at the conduct of these self-appointed "judges" of the Cuban revolution and at the shameless exploitation of the "affair" in this country by the Socialist Workers Party

and its newspaper, The Militant.

But first some background and chronology. Who is Padilla—and what is his "case?" Heroerto Padilla, 39 years old, is of that generation of Cuban writers and artists whose consciousness and aesthetic sensibilities were shaped in the colonialist era. Supporters of the revolution, many of these saw in the liberation of their country their own entrance onto the world intellectual stage. In the wake of the Cuban revolution, many of these artists—mostly writers—were lienized by foreign intellectuals who found in them an unexpected worldliness and sophistication that contrasted sharply with the seemingly simplistic enthusiasm of the Cuban masses. (One was not critical of the Cuban people or their aspirations; one merely patronized both with a certain weary cynicism while waiting to see whether Cuba could defy the laws of social development and wither away its

Soul-searching agonies

Artists are invariably attracted to the social vitality of . revolution; some, having developed as revolutionary artists previously of because they succeeded in transforming themselves via a new class outlook, develop their artistic potential and are able to become intellectual soldiers of the revolutionary cause. But many remain. prisoner to outmoded values and consciousness-and instead of attempting to transform themselves, try to transform the revolution. That they do so in the name of revolutionary principles, employing revolutionary rhetoric, does not change the basic nature of their aspirations. This was Herberto Padilla, a gifted poet who quite consciously set out to become the enfant terrible of the Cuban revolution, a writer whose mark would be made on an international stage, an artist who would keep alive the soul-searching agonies of the bourgeois personality as it confronted a proletarian world.

His writing became a strange admixture attempting simultaneously to defend the revolution and the very values which the revolution was changing in Cuban life. Western critics were fascinated by Padilla, anxious to make him the "voice" of the Cuban revolution. The concern was understandable, for Padilla's "success" fed their own illusion that socialist revolution might yet leave their bourgeois personalities and value systems

intact

Despite this, Padilla lad a home in the Cubra revolution. His literary efforts were both the joy and the despair of Cuban art. In expressing the anguish of the bourgeois soul caught up in that cataclysmic moment of historic change exemplified by the Cuban revolution, Padilla uncovered one layer of social reality. But his "truth"—and it was a truth—was a small one. For the great mass of the Cuban people, desperately undertaking a monumental task of social transformation under the most incredible odds, it was, all too often, a largely irrelevant statement. But for many in the cosmopolitan artistic circles of Havana and for their "revolutionary" counter-parts in Paris, Rome, New York and Mexico City, the agonies and ambiguities so exquisitely synthesized by Padilla echoed shared concerns.

#### The conscience?

The poet became a figure of controversy in Cuba. It seems to be a role for which he was not only suited, but to which he aspired. Foreign journalists and literary critics began to cite him as "the conscience of the Cuban revolution," the solitary figure of artistic integrity in an otherwise deadening cultural milieu. To some, Padilla was not only the revolution's "conscience," but its ultimate barometer.

Western critics appointed Padilia the revolution's poet laureate. Thus, writing on the Padilia "case" in the New

state before conquering its underdevelopment.)
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GARDEN CITY, Approved For Release 2001/03/04: CIA-RDP80-

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# Poet Repents in

By Martin Schram Newsday Washington Bureau

Camanayagua, Cuba—The sun knows no mercy. It beats down upon the citrus lands and bakes the faces and backs of the workers a weathered brown. Out in the fields, Pedro, Jose, Pablo and Juan lost daily, and their years of effort can be seen in the complexion of their skin.

But there is one among them whose skin is white, whyhose hands are soft and uncalloused; a man with blackrimmed spectacles whose 39-year-old body has grown paunchy. He is Heberto Padilla, one of Cuba's leading poèts, a city man who, until March 20, was well known for writings that treated Fidel Castro's Communist revolution critically pessimistically.

Back in the earlier days of the Castro regime, Padilla had written a lengthy poem, now all but forgetten, entitled "The Childhood of William Black." Toward the end of the peem,

Padilla wrote:

"Any day now/They'll call me to the (You wouldn't know him.)/He is any door:/Sir, a man with an umbrella/ day now/They'll burst into my room-/ He showed his badge, sir./Any day now/They'll force me out into the street,/Beating me, battering me about/ As though I were a sewer rai./(You cannot understand this. It is of our time.) The inspector of heresies will testify against me." -

But, in fact, it was not like that at all on March 20, Heberto Padilla now reports, when men with badges finally did call him to the door of his dingy second-floor apartment on O Street in Havana.

Padilla's attractive young wife, Belkis Cuza Male, herself a prize-winning poet, answered the door that morning and found two state security agents who wanted to speak with her husband. Padilla came to the door.

# Co.st. ro's Cuba

'I had always had this fear of the security men. But my conception of it was all wrong . . . It was a series of very normal conversations—discussions, nothing more . . . There was no physical pressure at all. Just a discussion of what it means to be a part of the revolution.'

The security agents asked Padilla to come with them. Padilla went quietly. And thus, the post began 36 days of detention as a prisoner of the state; detained, Padilla says, "for having been a counterrevolutionary."

Before his release by the security agents, Padilla signed a 4,000-word confession that he had slandered, vilified and defamed the Cuban revolution in his writings and in his discussions with visiting foreign intellectuals. And immediately upon his release,-Padilla appeared before a special meeting of his colleagues at the Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba, where he delivered a rambling and emotional selfcriticism. He talked of his great shame for his past actions against the revolution and denounced his last book of poems and a novel, "Heroes Graze in My Garden," that he had started, but will never finish. Padilla also acknowledged having talked with foreign intellectuals Rene Dumont and K. S. Karol, both of whom recently have written books critical of the Castro government. Padilla told his colleagues that both Dumont and Karol were agents of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. All of those actions, he told fae union, he had committed because

of vanity exercised at the expense of the Cuban revolution. And he said over and over how grateful he was that he was able to speak to the writers and artists because of the generosity of the revolutionary government.

The case of Heberto Padilla has caused worldwide reverberations. Sixty western intellectuals, who had once praised the revolutionary Cuban regime, sent a strongly worded letter to Castro deploring Padilla's arrest, confession and self-criticism. The Padilla case, they said, recalled "the most sordid moments of the era of Stalinism, with its prefabricated verdicts and its witch hunts." Signers included Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Susan Sontag, Alberto Moravia and Carlos Franqui, who once was a confidant of Castro and editor of Revolution, the former Havana daily newspaper.

But Padilla now says that, while he appreciates the concerns of the western, intellectuals, the 60 who signed the letter just do not understand that what happened to him was really a "very good, very beneficial thing." Western intellectuals cannot understand, Padilla says, because they live in a capitalist society. Padilla is saying, in ef-

## Approved For Release 2001 03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01

By Richard E. Ward Third of a series of articles

Official U.S. policy statements on Indochina issued to the public characteristically have charged the Victnamese with the crimes actually being committed by the U.S. From 1954 to the present day, among the U.S. ideological keystones have been the spurious claims of North Vietnamese aggression and violations of the 1954 Geneva settlement.

Although U.S. responsibility for sabotaging the over a decade, the first time it was seriously suggested in the New York Times was last month in its final installment of documents and reports from the Pentagon's history of U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

bienphu in May 1954 as well as serious military reverses. Geneva conference concluded, the National Security elsewhere in Indochina, France finally faced the neces- Council discussed Vietnam. About the meeting, Fox sity of negotiations to avoid complete destruction of its Butterfield in the Times wrote: "The objectives set by forces. The ensuing settlement at Geneva contained provisions for a durable peace in Indochina. But as friendly non-Communist South Vietnam' and 'to prevent quickly as French troops left Indochina the U.S. began a Communist victory through all-Vietnam elections," its direct intervention, preventing essential provisions of the Geneva agreement from being carried out.

Armed resistance begins

As is well known, the U.S. caused its puppet Ngo financed and largely conceived by his CIA tutors, Diem headfuted a neo-fascist regime. Thousands of patriots who had served in the anti-French resistance were assassinated or jailed and tortured. Armed struggle became the only road to survival; this developed spontaneously in some regions or under the direction of local cadres in others. Full-scale, coordinated resistance should certainly take no step to speed up the present began with the formation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam in December 1960, which was headed by a representative cross-section of the leadership of democratic and progressive organizations in the South.

In the U.S. version, which the American press rarely challenged (except to give a partially true picture as Diem neared his end in 1963), the Saigon puppets were treated as the legitimate rulers, threatened by subversive agents acting on behalf of Hanoi. In essence, according to Washington, in the late 1950s the U.S. was not intervening in Vietnam while "foreign aggression" was carried out by Vietnamese.

Unfortunately the press has only published a small amount of material from the Pentagon study on the period following the Geneva settlement. However, there is sufficient information from the Pentagon report to demonstrate that Washington consciously and deliberately was trying to crush the revolution in Vietnam and that virtually every public statement was nothing but a tissue of lies designed to conceal U.S. activities from the American people.

At various stages the U.S. and its apologists have blown hot and cold about the Geneva agreements. At the conference itself the chief U.S. delegate, Walter Bedell Smith, pledged that the U.S. would not upset them by force. Officials back in Washington were more

instructions from President Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles opposed any international recognition of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which had existed for nearly nine years and led the resistance against the French. Blind policies

Prior to the Geneva conference itself, Washington policy papers of 1954 underscored U.S. aims in Indochina as "a military victory" for the French, whose armies were on their last legs-indicating the lack of realism in Washington. Thus it is not surprising that the Geneva agreements has been recognized widely for well U.S. worked to destroy the new peace. This was evident at the time to anyone who wanted to see what was happening in Vietnam.

Clearer than before, the newly available documents show that the U.S. never intended to respect the Geneva Following the disastrous French defeat at Dien- settlement. On August 3, 1954, just two weeks after the the [National Security.] Council were 'to maintain a

Although the Pentagon analyst denied that the U.S. "connived" with Diem to prevent national elections, Butterfield noted that Washington had made its desires known to Diem and when Diem later blocked the elections, the U.S. indicated its full "support." The Dinh Diem to be installed in Saigon, even before the Pentagon papers could hardly conceal the fact that Diem settlement had been reached in Geneva. Under programs remained in power by virtue of U.S. backing, although the dependence on the U.S. is sometimes obscured, particularly in ascribing to Diem the repression for which U.S. was ultimately responsible.

Washington's cynical attitude toward the Geneva settlement was stated by John Foster Dulles in a cable to the U.S. embassy in Saigon on Dec. 11, 1955: "While we process of decay of the Geneva accords, neither should we make the slightest effort to infuse life into them."

Perhaps the most revealing new document from the post-Geneva period is a lengthy report on the activities of the so-called Saigon Military Mission, headed by Col. Lansdale of the CIA. Ostensibly written by anonymous members of the group, there is no doubt that the report which eulogizes Lansdale was largely his doing. Lansdale's activities were described in fiction by Graham Greene, in "The Quiet American." Lansdale's chauvinism and callousness might also be compared to the comic strip character, Steve Canyon, like Lansdale an Air Force -colonel.

continued

ambiguous, hardly co Approved For Releases 2001/03/04: CIA-RDP80-01601R000500030001-6 satisfied they well might be, for Bedell Smith's initial

3 AUG 1971

# A Little Red Book

\_\_ By JAMES HIGGINS

HAVANA-When I came to Cuba I brought with me a little red book. Not the prescriptions and prophecies pamphlet of the Department of State: "U.S. Policy Toward Cuba."

The text is based on a speech delivered in 1954 by George W. Ball to the Omicron Delta Kappa Society at Roanoke, Va., Mr. Ball was then Under Secretary of State in the Johnson Administration. His remarks, as published in May, 1964, were described to me by an officer of the Nixon Administration as "past, present and foreseeable-future" U.S. Cuban policy.

This is probably not a complete doscription. As with other parts of the world, U.S. policy toward Cuba has its (Ball speech) and "secret" "open" (C.I.A.) forms. One night in Havana, a Panamanian delegate to the congress of the International Association of Journalists told, with concrete displays of evidence-cryptogram codes, invisible writing techniques, Mexico mailing addresses, double-lined suit jackets-of C.I.A. efforts to recruit him. as an agent in Cuba.

And at the congress, Cuba's Foreign Minister, Dr. Raul Roa, mentioned in an almost offhand way preparations for C.I.A.-sponsored raids upon Cuba by former Cubans training in Costa Rica and Nicaragua. It occurred to me this might be worth some firsthand observation by a team of U.S. correspondents.

But the Panamanian's expositions, and Dr. Roa's asides, are, after all, only statements requiring verification. Whereas the "Little Red Ball Book" is policy stuff. Just as, for Cuba, are the speeches of Premier Fidel Castro.

"Our program is succeeding," wrote Mr. Ball in 1964. "Cuba under Communism is in a mess--produced by incompetent management, ideological interference and the refusal of the United States and many other Western societies to deal with a government that is seeking to undermine its neighbors."

In 1970 Mr. Castro said: "Now, then, the 'technocrats,' the 'brains,' the 'geniuses,' the 'superscientists'-all of them knew exactly what should be done in order to produce the 10 million tons of sugar. Well, first of all, it, black cover on it. Black for blindness. was proved they didn't know what was what, and, in the second place, they exploited the economy, channeling large amounts of resources to that (sugar) sector."

On a warm sunny afternoon, walking recently-my third visit since 1908- with Alberto along the Havana waterfront, I asked him if Mr. Castro's declarations did not demonstrate that Mr. of Chairman Mao, but a 22-page Ball-even if his timing was off by six years-was right in claiming success for the U.S. policy of "economic denial" toward Cuba. Alberto, an alert but relaxed reporter for the national youth newspaper, Juventud Rebelde, said of course it had been a success; that facts were facts; that the very areas of "Cuban vulnerability" singled out by Mr. Ball-replacement parts for industry, mainly U.S.-built mills, internal transportation and long-distance shipping routes-had been primarily responsible for the sugar defeat.

"But let me ask you," said Alberto, "two things: First, what is the moral basis of a policy which says in effect, that you must run your country the way we powerful interests of the U.S. want it run-or we will punish you by 'economic denial': that is, by starving your industry, creating impediments to development, keeping your people on short rations and thus hoping to demoralize them?"

He went on: "And second, who are the economic determinists? The Cuban Communists or the U.S. capitalists for whom Ball speaks? Who are the materialists and who the humanists? Our economic problems, whatever their source, are real and serious. We do not hide them. And outsiders, such as Ball or Western journalists, take these problems as the measure of the fate of our revolution."

He said he would like to suggest a "really fundamental fact of general nature" completely missed by Western observers of Cuba. "Almost half our population," he said, "is under sixteen. We are in the thirteenth year of the revolution. What is the condition of the youth? What is their spirit? They are the human indicators of the future. That is the simple truth. But neither Ball nor most of the Western journalists seem to know they exist."

Alberto and Dr. Roa, it seems to me, have given helpful hints toward a more comprehensive reporting of the Cuban scene. Perhaps it is time to discard the notions contained in Mr. Ball's "Little Red Book." Or at least put a

James Higgins is the former editor of The York Gazette & Daily of York, Pa., and a student of the Cuban revolution.

STATINTL

By Shellby Coffey III

Lais name still leaves some of the mighty in Washington-White House aide Bob Finch, presidential hopeful Ed Muskie, lawyer Tommy "The Cork" Corcoran, among others-a touch cautious or forgetful when strangers call to ask questions about their connections with Robert Aime Maheu.

To most of the rest of the public, Maheu was a nonentity until stories about Howard Hughes' "disappearance" began to hit the press last December. Maheu had been his top hired hand, the man who operated the vast (estimated \$300 million) Hughes Nevada Operations, among other tasks. Quite suddenly that December Maheu was the man Hughes had fired, the man who was hinting that, not Hughes, but sinister forces within the Hughes organization had fired him. As far as the past went most of the stories listed Maheu simply as an "ex-FBI agent."

But Bob Maheu has long been considerably more than that. In the not-so-recent past, he was one of the fastest movers ever to sprint through Washington.

Maheu set up a private investigative firm that for years stalked Washington unchallenged, aiding great corporations and irate alimony-payers. He mixed with senators and well-placed security men around the Federal sector, as well as with Greek shipping giant Stavros Niarchos and Savile Row-tailored lawyers who garner After conducting some counter-\$100 for noddApproved For Release 2001/03/04 or CIA-RDP80-01601R000500030001-6 Row-tailored lawyers who garner

twice during an hour.

He aided Nixon forces during the "dump Nixon" drive in 1956.

When certain elements in the CIA decided to assassinate Fidel Castro, it was reportedly Bob Maheu they turned to for help in arranging for Mafia chieftains to find the would-be killer. (And Johnny Roselli, the West Coast mobster mentioned as the man who helped make arrangements during the assassination tries, later was reported to have retained an interest in a lucrative concession of one of the Hughes hotels during Maheu's stewardship.)

Bob Maheu was one of that curious sort who wander on the fringe of notoriety in Washington, known in special circles as a man who can sit with Presidents and millionaires, with don Capos and clandestine agents, with the minister's wife, the astronaut, the police lieutenant-with almost anybody and not be an embarrassment. That and the ex-FBI agent's shrewdness took him far but never totally away from this power center.

🖾 grocer's son, Bob Maheu grew Georgetown law school days were cut short. Maheu entered FBI agent classes just before World War II erupted.

up in Waterville, Maine, wanting to be a lawyer. He graduated from Holy Cross College, but his

grim as he makes them sound, he quit in 1947 to get rich in the booming postwar economy. But his subsequent attempt to corner the canned cream market squirted him into disaster. On the verge of bankruptcy, he went into government security work, winding up as assistant to the director of the Small Business Administration here.

In 1954, caught on the wrong side of a bureaucratic power struggle, Bob Maheu set up in business for himself.

He wangled some office space at 917 15th Street N W from Carmine Bellino, a friend of the Kennedy family, and opened Robert A. Maheu & Associates, Maheu now tends to refer to it as a management consultant firm. In fact. it was a private investigative firm and most of the Associates were. like the boss, former FBI agents. As it grew the firm became something of a halfway house for FBI agents leaving the Bureau. Though they muffed a few cases, Robert A. Maheu & Associates was the best such firm this city has seen in the past 30 years. During a recent conversation in Las Vegas, Maheu recalled that he "didn't get rich overnight, but I did very well overnight."

One of the first ways he "did very well" was handling a case for Stavros Niarchos, who wanted Bob Maheu to help undo a contract his sometime brother-in-law and jealous rival, Aristotle Onas-

continued

# Defector: U.S. Journalists

STATINTL

# Duped by

By FRANK SOLER Hereld Latin America Stail

The Cuban government employs an array of play-acting techniques to fool visiting journalists into believing that all is well under Premier Fidel Castro, according to a. Cuban defector whose testimony was released Friday in Washington. 😁

Security agents are disguised as hotel employes, bar patrons, taxi drivers and even as peasants to give the journalists "a totally biased" view of the conditions on the island," defector Francisco Teira told the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

"We prepared everything so that the journalist would be satisfied with what he got without knowing that it was under our constant and complete control," said Teira, who fled from a Cuban ship in the Panama Canal zone in 1969.

A FORMER protocol officer for Cuba's Foreign Ministry who was also in charge of visiting journalists for two years, from 1984 to 1966, Teira added that:

O He doubled as a "playincluding those of officials conversation "many times."

O The Castro regime tried without success to implicate correspondents American based in Cuba with activities of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

O Cuban experts carefully indoctrinated young American radicals who visited the even as far as letting you go gencio Batista; sometimes island into engaging in ter- up there by yourself without they were allowed to carry rorism once they returned to be being with you . . . the United States.

flee the island aboard boats ty agents who were whole to have the revolutionary heroes would give or rafts managed to clude heartedly praising the revolutionary heroes would give gove hop royal For Released 2004/03/04 the IA-RDP80-01601R000500030001-6

Teira, who testified before the subcommittee last February, said the visiting newsmen were divided into four categories prior to their arrival in Cuba - those believed friendly, those known to be friendly, those believed unfriendly and those known to be unfriendly.

Journalists in the last two categories were deliberatedly made to waste their time, Teira said. The others were given the play-acting "treatment" to convince them that Cubans were happy under

"If the (friendly) journalist was staying at a hotel, arrangements were made so that when he went down to the bar hoping . . . to get the right 'scoop' . . . the persons he would talk to were security agents.

"WE DID THE same thing with taxi drivers. The journalist would say, 'Well, I don't want an official car, I want a taxi.' And, of course, ment of State Security."

In order to convince the boy spy" for Castro and was newsman that Cuba's peastold to use his good looks to ants backed the regime, Teira seduce and extract informa- said the journalist would be tion from the wives and sec- taken on drives through the retaries of foreign diplomats, countryside and then the would from Iron Curtain nations, steered to coincide with the who visited Cuba were wel-He said he was successful arrival at the hut of a campe- come as useful fools who

> the newsman: "Well, here said. is a hut. It is the first one that we have come across. We can stop here, not be- youths would be led along cause I am telling you, but if jungle paths used by Castro's you like since we happened rebel forces during the strugto talk about it. And I will go gle that ousted dictator Ful-

O Only "about 5 per whom the journalist thought and prepare fire bombs. cent" of those who tried to he was speaking were securiflee the island aboard boats ty agents who were whole-

that while he worked as a government spy he was provided with a life of luxury --a flamboyant car and apart- turning to the United States. ment, a plane, a yacht and an unlimited expense account.

role of playboy because of my physical appearance and and the actors were nothing ability to attract women," he but fakes. But because of the

Teira specifically cited amcrous encounters with the secretary of the Spanish ambassador, a "very beautiful girl," who he said also was a spy for the Spaniards.

wife of a Swiss diplomat and the wife of a Spanish diplo"Many, most of them were the wife of a Spanish diplomat named Lopiz, he said.

Teira said he also was involved in efforts to falsely involve American correspondents in Cuba with the CIA.

He said that Associated the taxi that he took was Press correspondent Fenton driven by a man co-opted Wheeler was singled out as a (employed) by the Depart- key target because he "used to make Castro mad" with his reporting about Cuba.

> Teira said, however, that Wheeler "was a smart man" and could not be linked to the CIA, so Castro had him expelled in 1969.

Radical American youths could be turned into anti-Teira said he would tell American terrorists, Teira

HE SAID the "naive" machine guns and shown " ... The peasants to how to throw hand grenades

Always, he said, "revolu-

The 37-year-old Teira said fiery, descriptions of their terrorist exploits, indirectly suggesting that the Americans emulate them after re-

"It was so well presented," he said, "that sometimes we ourselves felt overcome by "I WAS TOLD to play the emotion, despite the fact that we knew . . . the scenario perfection they had reached in their deception, their act became a masterpiece, a clas-

Teira, who said he defected because he was fed up with communism, added that of the "many" people who Also recruited through tried to fiee Cuba by boat or sexual blackmail were the raft every day, only "about 5

> captured . . . Many times they are bitten by dogs and oft times shot to death before they even get to the beach," he said.

new life . . .

## Books

# A Study of General Optimism

Reviewed by Hugh Thomas

The reviewer is the author of the recently published This review first appeared in not have worried, however. mild and reasoned criticisms The London Observer.

can history is often ignored: the nearer the country is to the United States, the more price of a shotgun in the Caribbean is less than half what it is farther south. Hence Chile has been comparatively peaceful, Cuba rather violent.

Other rules can be found suggesting the inadequacy of any determinist or Marxist explanation for Latin America's main Marxist experience, the Cuban Revolution. Take the part played by Castro, for example. He tells us that he is influenced Marxism-Leninism. theory which allocates a prime importance to economic considerations.

But the whole life of Castro consists of a defiance of economic realities and an assertion of will power. (The same thing could be said about Lenin, too.) What is admirers Castro's more, have been influenced sometimes more by the magnetism of his personality than by any more humdrum material considerations.

K. S. Karol presents a sympathetic, interesting and intelligent study of the Castro regime and its immediate origins. When I heard he was writing it, and I had not finished my own book on what seemed, from hearsay,

GUERRILLAS IN POWER: The course of the Cuban Revolution. By K. S. Karol. Translated from the French by Arnold J. Pomerans.

(Hill & Wans, 624 pp., \$12.50)

"Cuba: or The Pursuit of those covered by Karol, I distressing. Castro reacted Civil War," and other books, was apprehensive. I need by describing Karol's very

One rule of South Ameri, expansive, personal warm-hearted; mine cold-hearted, skeptical, pessi- CIA. These idiotic and libelmistic and economical. He is our remarks have since been concerned with present-day repeated particularly in the guns there are around. The realities, I was concerned distressing confession writprimarily with the past.

On the other hand, his personal recollections, of him. course, go beyond the scope of what I wrote myself.

Where, however, it is diffia cult to agree with Karol is the general optimism which characterizes his study, and of which his last sentence is a good example:

the means to start on a road that will lead them to a free and equal society. One does not have to be a dreamer to ally hoping to discover El-

this book was completed, he will soon be setting off militarist noted both by Karol and who knows, his optimism Rene Dumont (in "Cuba est- will at last be rewarded. il socialiste?") have unfortunately been enhanced. The nomination last year of the chief of staff of the Army as Minister of Education seems rather ominous for those who hope, as Karol does, for a freer higher education.

The very fate of this book itself when published last

to treat themes similar to year in France is even more Karol's book is generous, of him as treacherous and and accused both him and Duwas mont of being agents of the. . · ten by the poet Padilla.

Of course, one can understudy of the development of stand that anyone who has the Cuban Communist Party been the target for assassifrom its origins in 1925 is a nation so frequently as Casmore considerate analysis tro has is liable to come to than my own discussion of believe in conspiracy theo-. that movement. His attrac- ries, But this is no excuse: if tively written chapters on Castro had not made himevents since 1962, informed self a dictator, people would by a considerable wealth of not have wished to shoot

However, Castro mercifully is not the hero of this book. That role is filled by the author. One can only admire the patience, tolerance and good nature of this admirable socialist as he travels from one communist "The Cubans . . . still have country to another, crossing the world ceaselessly from Peking to Havana, perpetuthink that this is, in fact, the dorado and his spirits never road they will choose." dashed when he finds yet 1 think one does. Since again a gallows. Presumably tendencies for Chile; where perhaps,

By JEREMIAH O'LEARY Star Staff Writer

Spicy details of how Cuban intelligence agents used beautiful girls and handsome men to seduce members of the diplomatic cololny and foreign correspondents in Havana were disclosed today in the testimony to a Senate committee of a defector from the Castro regime.

Francisco Antonio Teira, who was in charge of treatment of newsmen visiting Havana from 1964 to 1966, fled a Cuban ship passing through the Panama Canal Zone two years ago to seek political asylum in the U.S. Teira appeared before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in February and the testimony was released today.

"If there was a correspondent who had some weakness, like, let's say, women or something along that line," Teira testified, "we would arrange for him to meet such a woman, who would keep him busy and out of circu-

lation."

Teira said his department kept a full dessier on all visiting U.S. newsmen and kept track of their writings through Castro agents in the U.S. He said the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the DGI intelligence apparatus for which he worked always knew whether a reporter was disposed to be friendly or unfriendly to the Castro government and tailored

"the treatment" accordingly.

He indicated considerable knowledge of how American newsmen work, to the extent that Cuban intelligence figured they would usually go first to the bar in their hotels and could be expected to try to use a taxi instead of a government-provided car. For that reason, he said, there were always girls in the pay of the regime waiting in the bar to become friendly and the cab drivers outside also were on the DGI payroll.

"For those (reporters) whom we knew to be unfriendly, we would prepare a schedule that would simply waste their time," Teira testified. "We would divert them from what they wanted to do. For instance, we would tell them to stay in their hotels and that Fidel was going to be there any minute now. Sometimes the correspondent would stay in his hotel for three days waiting for Castro, who never came because he didn't even know that the correspondent was waiting for him."

But if a correspondent was friendly, Teira said, he was taken around, helped with interviews, including with Castro himself, and generally well treated. The apparatus had a "Potemkin villages," a place where the peasants were well disposed toward the government, to which it steered the foreign press. Teira said the correspondents were made to feel that they but "actually it was a matter of trying to disinform them a lit-tle."

The handsome, 37-year-old witness told the subcommittee he was told to play the role of a playboy because of his ability to attract women. He said he had a plane, a sports car, a yacht, and practiced sky-diving judo and polo to polish his role as a man-about- town who had entree at the seat of power.

With this image, Teira was assigned to mingle with diplomatic personnel, especially secretar-

ies and wives.

He told counsel Jay Sourwine he many time got assignments to make love to certain women in the foreign colony for information or other purposes of the DGI network. He also said he recruited women or girls many times for these purposes. His testimony was that the "badger game" of compromising foreigners for blackmail was a common practice.

Among foreign diplomatic personnel recruited by the DGI through seduction by handsome Cuban agents was the wife of the third secretary at the Swiss Embassy. The wives of officials at the French and Spanish embassies in Havana also were recruited.

STATINTL

The seduction treatment also was applied by Cuban intelligence to personnel of the Communist bloc, Teira testified. He said he was involved in one such case with the secretary to Tano Solov, Vice Premier of Bulgaria, during an official visit.
"I was ordered to court her

and I was very successful in my mission," Teira said. But the Bulgarians caught on and sent the secretary home.

The Cuban intelligence also tried to get an agent close to Yur Paporov, a high-ranking Soviet intelligence operative posing as head of the Novosti news . agency in Havana.

But Paparov was too smart for them. "He told me," Teira said, "that our man was a rank amateur." He said he knew what we were trying to do, Teira said, but advised that we not be so blunt.

The Cuban DSE (State Security Department) was interested in proving two AP correspondents were connected with the CIA, Teira testified.

"Castro was very interested in concocting such a scandal," he said. "The DSE had tried to involve Ike Flores but the man'did not fit their requirements. They singled out John Wheeler of AP as the perfect target for this purpose. I don't know why but John Wheeler used to make Castro real mad. He tried to implicate Wheeler in anything so he could be implicated as a spy."

Teira said the DSE never succeeded in framing Wheeler, who eventually was expelled from Cuba. There was no trouble with the UPI, Teira testified, "because the bureau chief was a Cuban national and they knew for a long time that he was in their hands. He was a very careful man, very careful with what he reported."

#### Approved For Release 2001/03/04: CIA-RDP80-0

ALEXANDRIA, LA. TOWN TALK

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# Castro and the International Left

As Cuba prepares to celebrate the day of its national movement, July 26, disillusionment with Fidel Castro finally has set in among Western Europe's leftist intellectuals. The relationship between Castro and writers like Jean Paul Sartre in France or novelist Alberto Moravia in Italy has been deteriorating over the issue of

the Cuban read to socialism.

Speaking in Havana on May Day, Castro declared war on the Cuban intellectuals and the "shameless leftists" in Western countries who defend them. "We reject the claims of the mafia of pseudo-leftist bourgeois intellectuals to become the critical conscience of society," said the Cuban leader. Then, in one of his interminable harangues, he questioned the right of those who used the theme of the struggle of Latin-American peoples in their literary creations and carned fat fees from "imperialist" publishing houses to "appoint themselves judges of revolutions."

An impressive group of European intellectuals expressed their concern in the New York Review of Books over the arrest last March of poet Heberto Padilla. He was released from prison on April 27 only after confessing to his erring ways. "We fear the re-emergence of a sectarian tendency stronger and more dangerous than that which you (Castro) denounced in March 1952 and to which Major Che Guevara alluded on several occasions when he denounced the suppression of the right of criticism within the ranks of the revolution," wrote the signatories. In response, Castro denied on Cuban television that Mr. Padilla had written his self-criticism under physical torture.

Castro's refusal to follow the Soviet-style party line in literature, films, and painting was one of the reasons Cuba initially won favor with left.

ist intellectuals. But whereas 10 years ago the journal Lunes de Revolucion published works by Trotsky and Sartre, now Castro has banned this and other periodicals. Hardliners have been appointed to guide the National Cultural Council and the leading cultural journals.

After more than a decade of pursuing an independent cultural line, Castro also has embraced the familiar and depressing policy of state-supervised, socialist-realist conformity in the arts. K. S. Karol, who spent a great deal of time in Cuba at Castro's invitation, suggests in a new book, Guerrillas in Power, that Castro's return to the fold is "the unavoidable consequence" of his failure "to build a Cuban road to socialism."

In Havana "the quality of life is almost as bad as the American right-wing would have you believe," writes Richard Evans in the Guardian. Last year the sugar harvest failed to reach the target of 10 million tons. This year the morale seems to have run out of the people. Reporter Richard Gott suggests that, "From Castro downwards, there appears to be an uncertainty about the immediate future which has cast a pall over the entire population."

Mr. Karol, whom Castro denounced last menth as an agent of the C.I.A., reports that a full-grown cult of personality has developed around the Cuban leader. During one trip with Castro to the eastern provinces of Cuba Mr. Karol noted that, "At least half a dozen ministers sat down at our collective meals, but only Fidel spoke and none of his collaborators found it expedient to air his views on any of the matters that came up."

Even Castro admitted a year ago that something is very wrong in Cuba. His Cuban mea culpa in effect sums up 11 years of authoritarian rule.

# rigure in friers Case Asks Cur in Term as 'Hero'

Rosselli's Plea, Based on Alleged Mission to Kill Castro, Deferred by Judge

> BY GENE BLAKE. Times Staff Writer

Alleged underworld figure Johnny Rosselli, 66, Tuesday sought reduction of a five-year prison term on the ground that he had heroically worked with former Howard Hughes aide Robert Maheu in attempts to assassinate Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

But U.S. Dist. Judge William P. Gray, who had imposed the prison sentence and a \$55,000 fine in the Friars Club card cheating case, said he was not impressed with affidavits and unsigned memoranda filed in. Rosselli's behalf.

I don't think Mr. Rosselli is entitled to Brownie points if these allegations are a fact," Gray told attorney Adrian Marshall.

In Las Vegas, Maheu, who now heads his own consultant firm, told The Times by phone: "I will not dignify such a story by even comment-

ing on it." Marshall told Gray that in the early 1960s, there was a Central Intelligence Agency mission calling for the assassination of Castro. He said the CIA enlisted the aid of Maheu, who in turn enlisted the aid of Rosselli.

#### Claims Mission for CIA

There were six attempts made on the life of Castro, and Rosselli had a boat shot out from under him, according to Marshall. However, he said, Rosselli was sworn to secrecy by the CIA.

Maheu's consulting firm had offices in Washington in the early 1960s. He moved to Las Vegas and began full-time work for Hughes when the billionaire industrialist took up residence in Nevada in 1966.

Maheu declined to comment on whether he had done any government work in the period referred to by Rosselli. He said he knows Rosselli, but wouldn't discuss him further. Rosselli was a frequent Las Vegas visitor during the 1966-70 period when Maheu was in charge of Hughes' enterprises there.

Asst. U.S. Atty. David R. Nissen described Rosselli, who was brought to Los Angeles for the hearing from McNeil Island Federal Penitentiary, as "a menace to society."

#### · Hearing Continued for 99 Days

Gray, while not impressed with the story of Rosselli's alleged heroics in Cuba, continued the hearing for 20 days to get a report on Rosselli's health. Rosselli will go back to McNeil Island and will be returned here Oct. 18.

Earlier, Manuel (Ricky) Jacobs, another of the four men convicted in the 1968 Friars Club card cheating conspiracy trial, was granted a reduction of his prison term from four years to three.

Gray, after hearing a plea for modification of sentence by attorneys William Marshall Morgan and Burton Marks, agreed that consecutive terms of three years and one year. may run concurrently.

Gray took the same action last month with another defendant, Benjamin J. Teitelbaum.

Jacobs, 51, a professional gambler and former operator of panguingue card parlors, has a prior record of misdemeanor gambling and bookmaking arrests. He was ordered to surrender Thursday to begin serving his sentence at the Terminal Island federal prison.



# Approved For Release 2007/03/04: CIA-RDP80-

# Nixon and Trust of Diplomats

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

President Nixon, we must assume, came off a personal winner because of the New York Times' exposé of the Pentagon's documents on Viet Nam. For it was a Democratic Administration and Democratic advisers—Walt Rostow, the two Bundys—who led the nation down the garden path into a war fought without reference to the strategic principles recommended by the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The fear of Red China caused LBJ and his Secretary of Defense Robert Mc-Namara to shy off from exhibiting the essential will to go for the enemy's jugular in the war, and, since the might-have-beens of history can never be known, Rostow, the Bundys and the rest have an arguable political case for what they recommended. But whatever the verdict on the reasoning involved, one thing is clear: Richard Nixon had nothing to do with it.

There remains the feeling, which seems to be Secretary of State William Rogers' chief worry, that the conduct of U.S. diplomacy has been badly compromised by the Times' scoop. If it proves true that foreign nations will henceforward be leery of dealing with U.S. envoys, and with the White House itself, on a confidential basis, then it must be admitted that the office of the presidency, if not Nixon as a person, has been hurt by the revelations that Pentagon security can be broken.

But secrecy has been breached before, as is known to anyone who recalls the time when confidential documents bearing on our World War II China policy turned up in Amerasia magazine. It is the security "next time" that must concern the diplomats: life must go on, and whenever a mutuality of interests is concerned there will be deals and understandings.

As a matter of fact, Nixon's own personal reputation for extreme scrupulousness in circumstances affecting national security cannot be questioned. Surely it must be common knowledge in the foreign offices of the world that Nixon allowed John F. Kennedy to score the most damaging sort of debating points against him in the presidential campaign in 1960 rather than defend himself by breaking security.

Has everyone forgotten the poignant passages in Nixon's autobiographical Six Crises bearing on Kennedy's manipulation of the Cuban situation to put the Republicans in the hole?

Kennedy, according to the Nixon account, had been briefed on the fact that the CIA had been training Cuban exiles throughout early 1960 for the eventual purpose of invading Cuba and overthrowing Castro.

Nixon had supported the training, and had been urging the tougher line inside the Eisenhower Administration that was eventually adopted. Yet Kennedy, in full knowledge that covert plans were even then being put into effect, had the gall to say, in a campaign statement, that the Cuban fighters for freedom "have had virtually no support from our government."

Nixon was powerless to answer the charge, for if he had it would have been a flagrant breach of security. All he could do was to fume and to say things in protection of the secrecy of the Cuban exile training program that would tend to make Kennedy seem right in accusing Republicans of being soft on Fidel Castro.

It was the only time during the campaign that Nixon got mad at Kennedy personally. When Kennedy got into office he took over the Eisenhower-Nixon program and made a mess of it at the Bay of Pigs by refusing to sanction the followthrough that might have made it a success.

If the foreign offices of the world need to be reminded of the history of Nixon's feelings for the safety of confidential information affecting the conduct of foreign policy, Secretary Rogers should have no difficulty in supplying a refresher course.

Nixon's own integrity in these matters has been doubly underscored by the Administration's vivid concern about the leak of documents to the New, York Times. If there had been any particle of willingness to milk a partisan political advantage from the Times' essentially anti-Democratic scoop, Nixon would have made no motion to recover the documents and to enjoin the Times from making full use of them.

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# Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-0160 28 JUN 1971

#### Virginia Preweij

# Controlled cultur



ACCUSED by the Free World's leftist intellectuals of torturing Cuga's prize-winning revolutionary poet to make him conform, Fidel Castro has militarized the control of Cuba's entire intellectual and cultural life.

He has named a young military zealot, Lt. Luis Pavon, as head of Cuba's National Cultural Council. This body con-

trols Cuba's artists and writers, its libraries, museums, cultural education, music, ballet, exhibitions and the "Casa de las Americas."

The latter is the cultural organization that has been used as an umbrella under which Castro promotes his political purposes among foreign intellectuals and cultural entities.

LT. PAVON is the former deputy chief of the Political Directorate of Castro's Armed Forces, the organization entrusted with keeping Cuba's military on the straight and narrow path of Castro's doctrine.

Many months ago, as editor of the highly political military journal, "Verde Oliva," Lt. Pavon launched an attack on "libertarian" intellectuals. Earlier, he had objected to the award of a literary prize to the Castroite poet, Heberto Padilla. The generalized attack on Padilla culminated in March with Padilla's arrest as a counter-revolutionary.

When Padilla, after over a month in prison,

emerged with a full recantation that involved other Cuban and Free World leftist intellectuals, accusations were published in Europe charging Castro with subjecting Padilla to torture, and maintaining concentration camps.

LEFTIST intellectuals of the Western World who have been Castro's staunchest advocates have written not one but two open letters to him protesting the specific treatment to Padilla and the oppression of Cuban intellectuals in general. The first letter had about 30 signatures. The second had twice that many, and even included one U.S. supporter of leftist causes, Susan Sontag.

The signatures of the letters read like a "Who's Who" of communist, socialist, Marxist and other for-left sects and cliques in the Free World. Europe and Latin America are both represented, with accent on the French, and Italian intellectuals who were once ardent pro-Castroites.

Castro has denounced his former friends in ranting accusations that they are lily-livered "bourgeoise" and agents of the CIA.

The text of the second letter expresses the leftists' "shame and anger" at the "confession" signed by Padilla and says it could only have been the result of "methods which negate legality and revolutionary justice." It likens what is happening to Cuban intellectuals to the "dogmatic obscurantism, cultural xenophobia and the repressive system" of the Stalinist era in the communist world.

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#### Jack Anderson

CIA Boodle THIS SPRING we went to the Florida Keys on a treasure hunt for buried CIA funds. Former Army Capt. Brad Ayres, a dashing pilot and ex-CIA training specialist, took us to sites where he had took us to sites where he had trained Cuban exiles in the '60s for sorties against Cuba. Ayres had heard rumors of three caches containing a total of \$250,000 which were to be turned over to an assassin of Fidel Castro. The would-be assassin failed in his , mission, At one site, deep in thickets, we found the ground dug up. The "cache" was gone, but not far off we discovered \$120 in tattered \$20 bills, some printed as late as 1968.

We furned the bills over the We turned the bills over to Treasury Secretary John Connally for the CIA if the V super-secret agency were willing to claim them.

Last week, Treasury returned the six bills with a guarded registered letter that said nothing about the CIA.

"There is no way Treasury
can verify present, past or future cwnership of this particular currency." Treasury said.

#### Approved For Release 2001/03/04: CIA-RDP80-07

DAILY WORLD 25 JUNE 1971



#### Writers and artists of Cuba hit would-be Padilla defenders

HAVANA-The letter signed by intellectuals in Paris and published there May 22 in Le Monde, concerning the case of the Cuban writer, Herberto Padilla, was denounced here by the Cuban Union of Writers and Artists and by the. Cuban cultural institution, Casa de las Americas.

The letter published in Paris

had attacked the Cuban government for its treatment of Padilla.

Concerning this letter, the Case de las Americas statement said:

"It wouldn't be right to say that all or even a majority of those who have participated in this campaign are agents of imperialism. It isn't necessary.

"They don't have to be hired agents of the enemy, even though some of them really are just that. They do freely what the CIA knows they will freely do."

The declaration asks if it is not true that when Che Guevara disappeared from Cuba, writers like these contributed to attempted defamation of the Cuban Revolution by spreading slanderous rumors.

#### Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP8

JACKSONVILLE, N.C. NEWS JUN 17 1971 E - 11,722

#### Castro isn't Reds'

#### messiah' after all

Cuba's Fidel Castro is fast becoming an "anti-hero" to leftists in the United States, Latin America and Europe.

Despite his tough revolutionary posture, his image as a Marxist-Leninist leader has been badly tarnished.

Even the Nixon administration no longer considers Castro's ideology as a serious threat in Latin America. The "experiment" with a Marxist-Leninist government undertaken more recently in Chile by President Salvador Allende is causing far greater concern in Washington.

Radical extremists who once regarded Cuba as the promised land of socialism are increasingly rejecting Havana's bearded dictator as the Red messiah. Carlos Françui, former editor of Havana's daily newspaper "Revolucion," reported a decade ago that "Castroism is the wave of the future" in Latin America.

Franqui was Castro's closest friend. Now he is an exile in Paris conspiring to

overthrow the Cuban regime.

Franqui just issued a statement — also signed by 60 European and American leftist intellectuals -- that strongly condemns Castro's brutal dictatorship and his "contempt for human dignity."

Another one-time ardent supporter of the "Cuban revolution," French journalist K.S. Karol, was even more bitter.

Karol had made a pilgrimage to Cuba in search of a revolutionary utopia. He found instead a land of chaos and terror. In his book, "Guerrillas in Power," Karol suggested, that Castro should concern himself more with exporting sugar and less with exporting his "romantic" revolutionary ideology.

Havana's dictator was quick to retaliate in the usual manner. He castigated his erstwhile supporter as an agent of the U.S. Central Intelligence

"ignoble, unjust, cowardly treacherous."

The leftist intellectuals were "shocked" by Castro's methods "of forcing a man into ludierously accusing himself of the worst treason and in-

dignities."

They had been silent when the dictator jailed and tortured thousands of innocent Cubans, including the heroic Huber Matos, Havana's noblest democratic leader. But Padilla's "confession" obviously evoked grim memories of Stalin's terror, which spared neither foe nor friend.

Young Latin-American leftists are also disillusioned by the increasing tendency of Havana to act as Moscow's puppet. The majority, like their counterparts in the United States, are adherents of Mao Tse-tung. They despise Soviet "revisionism" as much as they hate capitalist America.

Castro knows this but there is little that he can do to appease the New Left. For he also knows that his dictatorship remains economically viable only because of

heavy Russian subsidies.

In 1968, Hayana's dictator still dared to denounce Russia's invasion Czechoslovakia as a "flagrant violation" of the sovereignity of a Communist nation. "Cuba stands alone," he exulted at the time.

This no longer true today. The Russian presence - both military and economic — is increasingly evident in Havana, and the power of the pro-Moscow Communists is growing proportionately.

They may even decide one day — as their Russian masters decided recently Egypt "romantic" that revolutionists like Fidel Castro have outlived their usefulness. The Kremlin regards orthodox Marxist-Leninists like Chile's Allende as more reliable agents and allies.

Agency. Karol's Cuban friend, poet
Huberto Padilla, was arrested and kept
in jail until he "confessed" that he was
indeed a CIA agency rayed of the confessed agency of the co

1 0 JUN 1971



#### False friends of Cuba

The big-money press that does the job for imperialism is trying to parlay the Padilla case into a big killing for its side. Padilla is the Cuban writer who belatedly saw where his counter-revolutionary writings had taken him and rejected his past.

This entire development is an illuminating instance of how imperialism fights for men's minds. That battle is hotter today than ever, because socialism has won a third

of mankind and moves relentlessly forward.

Padilla admits having had truck with a ccuple of CIA agents. Anybody who doubts the CIA is in there pitching every minute should read Jack Anderson's nationally syndicated column. He tells of the ongoing plot to assassinate Cuba's prime minister Fidel Castro, of incessant efforts to sabotage.

Nonetheless revolutionary Cuba moves forward irresistibly. Last week Castro told how Cuba's enemies change their tactics and how today "pseudo-leftists posing as Marxists try to influence the minds of people."

O ...

He referred to those who protested the Padilla developments, outrageously charging that torture had been used. He threw that monstrous lie back in their faces saying, "Our victories over our ideological enemies have always been victories of reason and political and moral

superiority of our people."

The New York Times unctuously "speaks up" for Padilla, but they mean the man who trafficked with CIA agents, not the one today who repudiates them. We remember that the New York Times knew in advance that the CIA invasion was about to take place against Cuba at the Bay of Pigs — and never printed that story. It could stomach the murder expedition because it agreed with it. Gentlemen of the Times, who now pretend tears for Padilla, your hands are stained with Cuban blood.

STATINTL

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8 JUNE 1971





Chile's intellectuals defend Cuba

SANTIAGO DE CHILE—Eighty prominent Chilean intellectuals issued a statement in Santiago on Saturday condemning those who lent their names and talents to an imperialist-inspired slander campaign against Cuba. The statement was in direct reference to the so-called "Padilla case" in Cuba, and pointed out that peet Heberto Padilla had admitted he slandered the Cuban revolution and had contacts with CIA agents. The Chilean intellectuals sharply attacked a statement issued under the name of French novelist Jean-Paul Sartre and several others protesting Cuba's handling of the "Padilla case."

The Chileans said: "We think the time is ripe for every worker in the cultural field to determine his place and his position in the construction of a new society. There is no room for hesitation on this question. We believe every progressive writer must be a revo-

lutionary and support the people."

"We completely agree with Fidel Castro's remarks that it is necessary to intensify the struggle against imperialist ideology and colonialism in culture. We believe national cultural values must belong to the entire people and not to unrepresentative groups of individuals. We support the Cuban's efforts to build a new socialist society." The statement was signed by Chilean National Literary Award winners Juvencio Valle and Carlos Droguett, writers Guillermo Atias. Antonio Scarmeta, Gonzalo Rojas, painters Jose Balmes, Guillermo Nunez and 73 other Chilean intellectuals.

New U.S. radio station in Greece

SALONIKA, Greece—The U.S. and the Greek fascist junta last weekend signed a new agreement extending the broadcast rights of the Voice of America radio station for another 14 months and providing for the establishment of a new VOA station at Kavalla, in northwestern Greece. The new station is very powerful (2,590 kilowatts) and will be backed up by a "Radio Free Europe" station which is to be set up nearby. Radio Free Europe is a branch of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Reasons for the moves closer to the Yugoslav border were not disclosed.

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8 JUN 1971

#### CASTRO SAYS PORT WASN'T TORTUNED

Denics Charge on Padilla by 60 Foreign Intellectuals

MIAMI, June 7. (AP)—Premier Fidel Castro has denied allegations made by 60 foreign leftist intellectuals that his regime has tortured Heberto Padilla, who won the Government's 1968 peetry prize, to obtain a confession of "counterrevolutionary crimes."

In a speech in Havana last night, Mr. Castro expressed "our repugnance and our indignation against that group of miserable ones who attempted to convince people internationally that a self-critical statement of a writer who maintained counterrevolutionary positions had been the result of physical tortures."

Mr. Padilla, who is 39 years old, was jailed March 20 and released April 28 after a public confession of wrongdoing and activities against the regime.

activities against the regime.

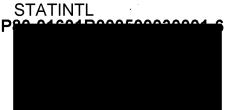
In their open letter to Mr. Castro last menth, the 60 intellectuals said the confession could only have been obtained "by means that amount to the negation of revolutionary legality and justice," and charged ithat it has recalled "the most sordid moments of the era of Stalinism, with its prefabricated verdicts and its witch-hunts."

The 60 also spoke of their

The 60 also spoke of their earlier view of the revolution as a model in the realm of socialism."

The Havana radio, monitored in Miami, has quoted Mr. Padilla as rejecting the intellectuals' act of defense. He was said to have attacked the signers, who included Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Alberto Moravia and Susan Sontag, as

"cynical enemies of socialism."
In his confession, distributed outside Cuba by the Government press agency, Prensa Latina, Mr. Padilla said he had slandered the revolution, especially in conversations with foreign intellectuals. He described himself as ignoble, unjust, cowardly, treacherous and lying, and said two of the intellectuals worked for the United States Central Intelligence Agency.



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Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80 STATINTL

# ISMENDARED CUBAS BIVOLUION

Neberto Papida is a west-known Cuban writer. Tragically, I drive for solf-aggrandizement got in his way as a spekerman, a hereld of the Cuban Revolution. He failed to see the grandeur of this fremendous event in man's history because of solf-imposed blinkers, and he blundered from his course as a revolutionary writer. An incadinate personal ambition led him to counterrevolution, as he calmits in the statement on these pages.

It is a letter, slightly abridged, that he wrote to the Cubangovernment after a paried of self-scrutiny and self-analysis. He had been taken into custody by the Cuban authorities for his uncoasing defamation of the Cuban Revolution, supplying slanderous information to fereign writers, some of whom are actually sent to Cuba for purposes made notorious by the CIA. As Padilla himself writes, he actually urged one counter-revolutionary

It is enlightening to note how the New York Times (May 22) weated the self-critical letter. It gave an extraordinary amount of space to a misguided statement by some 60 writers around the world who condemned the Cuban government for allegedly "forcing" this statement from Padilla. Contrast this to the fact that the Times failed to report a Congress of the representatives of 40,000 American writers (Town Hall, New York, in April) whose avoided and publicized goal was defending the First Amendment, and to protect writers' professional and material interests against Conglomerates that are buying up publishing houses as a realter buys up corner lots—and who then deny the writer his rights. (See Joseph North's article, World Magazine, May 15.)

The many days I struggled with myself It to make the decision to tell the truth. I did not even want my truth to be as it really was. I preferred my disguise, my appearances, my justifications, my evasions. I had become accustomed to living in a deceifful and subtle game. I did not dare to confess how ignoble, how unjust, how unworthy my position was: I really lacked courage to do so, but in the end I managed to gain control of myself and I can with absolute frankness expose the true motives for my conduct, the falsity of my critical ostentations and of my own life within the Revolution.

I have acted, I have assumed positions and have carried out certainly activities against our Revolution. But my literary vanity, my intellectual and political vanity have a lot to do with this.

Under the disguise of the writer in revelt within a socialist society. . I accused the Revolution unjustly of the worst things. Among both Cubans and foreigners I discredited every one of the initiatives of the Revolution, striving to look like an intellectual who was an expert in problems I had no information about. I committed grave faults against the true intellectual's moral code, and what is worse, against the Revolution itself.

My return from Europe was marked by resentment. Some months after arriving in Cuba the first thing I did was to take advantage of an opportunity that came from the literary supplement "El Caiman Barbudo" on the occasion of the appearance of the novel by Lisandro Otero, "Pasion de Urbino", to attack unjustly a friend of long standing like Lisandro; to defend a declared traitor, an agent of the CIA. Guil' lermo Cabrera Infante; to attack the Writers Union because they did not take the same position as myself, to attack the Foreign Affairs Ministry for having dispensed with the services of a well-known counterrevolutionary, Cabrera Infante, and to

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Continue:

#### Approved For Refeats 2007/03/04: STA-RPP80-07

#### The Case of Heberto Padilla

Jose Yglesias

Last month The New York Review published a report that Heberto Padilla, perhaps the best of the Cuban poets of the revolutionary generation, that is, men who, like most of the Cuban leaders, have just reached forty, had been jailed on March 20 without charges being brought against him [NYR, May 6]. With this report appeared a letter expressing concern addressed to Fidel Castro and signed by prominent European and Latin American intellectuals who have often demonstrated their support of the Cuban revolution. Since then Le Monde has reported that Padilla was released on April 25 and that he issued a statement of self-criticism written in jail. On April 27 he read this recantation to a meeting of the Cuban Writers' Union (UNEAC). Shocking news, but this is not the first time Padilla has been in trouble.

In 1968, when asked by the Associated Press how he felt about the attack in Verde Olivo, the Cuban Army magazine, on the volume of his poetry that had just won the annual prize awarded by UNEAC, Padilla replied,

I always dislike articles that attack me, for after the first natural unhappy reaction they cause I r.spend whole hours trying to confront the image that my adversary offers me with that which I have of myself, and that is a process which is really anguished.

UNEAC that had taken on this minor literary battle as a major project, and Verde Olivo's article, as well as others that subsequently appeared in the same magazine attacking various groups of writers, was reprinted in Granma, the below. Party organ, and distributed throughout the Party for discussion.

most pessimistic of the Cubans I talked little chance of success, for Le Monde to expected that Padilla's book would reported that Fidel himself affirmed not be published and that he would be that he "had personally ordered

Neither happened; the book was published, with an introduction condemning it as counterrevolutionary by the Executive Committee of UNEAC. and Padilla was not arrested. He was without a job for a long time, however, and it was not until about a year. ago, when he appealed directly to Fidel, that he was given one at the University of Havana.

Cuban revolution to suffer the an- and malice within the revolution." He guish-perhaps for more than whole scoffed at "certain books" published in hours-of the image that he and the the past that would no longer be revolution offer us of themselves.

of his arrest and subsequently that of miles away"; and announced they his release, as well as extracts of his, would no longer be allowed to be on statement and a short account of his appearance at the UNEAC meeting; the last three reports were culled from dis-The Verde Olivo attack had followed patches by Prensa Latina, the Cuban attempts, ostensibly by the leadership news agency. At the end of the first of UNEAC, to influence the jury not week in May Padilla's statement and a to award the prize in poetry to Padilla speech given by Fidel on April 30 or to Anton Arrufat in playwriting. I became available in New York from say ostensibly because it was the official Cuban sources, both after a the case of Padilla's statement, with the omission of at least one section which had appeared in the version released by Prensa Latina in Paris. The significance of this deletion I shall point out

In any case, it immediately became . apparent that the letter to Fidel Castro I was in Cuba at the time and the published in The New York Review had sent to a work farm for rehabilitation, the arrest of Padilla" and added that

other Cuban intellectuals could suffer' the same fate. To a gathefing of university students Fidel indirectly replied to the intellectuals' letter with the statement that Cubans would see now who are really the friends of Cuba, accusing those who have interested themselves in Padilla's case of imposing conditions on their friendship.

On April 30 Fidel, speaking to the closing session of the First National In his statement of self-criticism last Congress of Education and Culture, month, Padilla adopted-with what made himself even more explicit, anguish one can well imagine—the though he still did not mention the image that his adversaries offered: he letter from the intellectuals nor, this described himself as an Iago, counter- time, Padilla's name. In a long aside he revolutionary, subtle, insidious, malig- attacked "bourgeois liberals" who are nant, the source for all the criticism of not interested, he said, in the real Cuba that foreign writers like K.-S. problems of Cuba but in the problems Karol and René Dumont have pub- "lost sheep may have with the revolulished. It now falls to those of us who tion because they have not been given are his friends as well as friends of the the right to continue to spread poison published in Cuba; inveighed against At this writing, almost nothing literary magazines-"paid for by about Padilla's case has appeared here imperialism"-which will carry "these or in the Cuban press. What I learned rumors and little problems"; deat the end of April came from Le nounced "shameless semi-leftists" living Monde, which first published the fact in "bourgeois salons, ten thousand national or international juries in Cubaindeed, to get a prize "they'll have to be real revolutionaries, real writers and poets."

It would have been interesting if Fidel had said to those young educators he was addressing at the congress that he was referring to, among others, Sartre and de Beauvoir and to the four Cuban Communist Party and not delay unusual for the Cubans and, in major Latin American novelists, Julio Cortázar, Gabriel Garcia Márquez, Carlos Fuentes, and Maria Vargas Llosa, whose works have made the face of that continent visible throughout the world. And, closer to home, that one signatory of the letter was Carlos Franqui, who as organizer of the clandestine press for the 26 of July Movement ran risks as great as the fighters in the Sierra Maestre faced, and who at the moment finds himself in Rome.

> Hidel's present position represents as much of an about-face as Padilla's and

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#### Approved For Release 2001/03/04: CIA-RDP80



# Jack Anderson Futile Search For CIA Cash

LINDERMAN'S KEY, Fla.

We came to Linderman's Key—a large clump of palms and mangroves in the shallow, blue-green waters of the Florida keys—in search of treasure.

It was our second attempt to recover a cache of \$20 bills that the Central Intelligence Agency had given Cuban exiles to finance their operations against Fidel Castro.

Unhappily, the principles of cost accounting are difficult to apply to undercover missions, and some of the Cubans kept a share of the CIA cash for themselves.

Brad Ayers, an ex-CIA instructor who had trained Cuban commandos on Linderman's Key, had learned from the Cubans where \$250,000 had been stashed.

Earlier, he led my associate Les Whitten through mangrove swamps and tangled underbrush to the spot where \$50,000 had been buried in a blue suitease. The ground at the remote hiding spot had been thoroughly shoveled and sifted.

Apparently, someone had reached the site ahead of them and had made off with the loot. But they searched the brush and found six weathered \$20 bills that evidently had been dropped.

Avers didn't accompany us on our second expedition. But he gave us explicit directions where \$260,000 was supposed to be hidden in two aluminum rifle containers. One supposedly had been weighted and sunk under six feet of water in an abandoned cistern. The other reportedly had been lashed or bolted to the channel bottom between the pilings of a dock.

WE RECRUITED an experienced crew, headed by Lewis Goodman, a huskily handsome, 47-year-old adventurer who has discovered a sunken Spanish galleon off the coast of Bimini, hacked through the jungles of Guyana in a futile search for diamonds, and panned gold in the Dominican Republic.

We anchored under a savagely hot sun in Broad Creek channel, then headed in a small skiff across a sunken sandflat to Linderman's Key. Ayers had told us how he had trained his Cuban commandos in outdoor survival on the parched island and had led them in rubber boats on covert, amphibious operations to the other islands strung like great stepping stones across water streaked with deep blues and bright greens.

Linderman's Key was deserted when we pulled up to the wooden dock. One canister, stuffed with \$100,000 in \$20 bills, was reportedly anchored under another dock at the end of the island, But we decided to look for the abundoned eistern first.

It was a hot, still, tropical afternoon. The only sound of life was the buzzing of horseflies. A cormorant, known less formally in these parts as a "water turkey," had been stirred from his afternoon nap by our arrival:

The Island was dominated by a shabby white house. Through the windows, we could see bunkbeds. About 70 yards behind the house, near a clump of scrub cactus and a tangle of rotting brush, we found the abandoned cement cistern. It was exactly as Ayers had said it would be.

We scrambled over it and pecred through a manhole into its dank depths. It appeared to be empty. Les Whitten leaped inside with the underwater flashlight we had thought would be necessary.

He found only an inch of water on the bottom, some broken tile piping and a fresh hornets' nest. No canister full of cash. If the money had been there, someone had drained the cistern and again had beaten us to it.

DROOPING NOW like the listless palms, we returned to the skiff and put-putted over to the other dock. It had been crushed by storms. Old wooden pilings, some of them anchored in cement bases, poked up above the water.

With snorker equipment, we searched the bottom. The pillings were encrusted with barnacles, the bottom coycred with silt,

I spotted a cable, the sort that might have been used to lash a canister to the bottom. But it turned out to be unattached. Lew Goodman, wearing an eight-pound diving belt and studded gloves, went down to search the silt. He buried his arm in it up to the pit.

With crowbays, we continued to probe the silt. All we came up with were pieces of planking studded with rusty nails. Some of the planking was so rotten it crumbled in our hands. Obviously, it would take dredging equipment to sift the four-foot accumulation of silt.

Regretfully, we abandoned our treasure hunt. We are still convinced, after double-checking Brad Ayers' story carefully, that \$250,000 intended to be used against Castro was stashed away instead. But all we can return to the CIA after our two adventures in Florida are six tattered \$20 bills.

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# Cuban Poet Denounces Leftists Abroad in Havana Open

By FRANK SOLER Herald Latin America Staff

Cuban poet Herberto Padilla Wednesday accused leftist Latin American and :European intellectuals of using his arrest in Havana last March and his later "self-confession" of anti-Castro attitudes "as a pretext to attack the Cuban revolution."

"Everytime you have an opportunity you launch your poisonous darts against Cuba," said Padilla in an open letter, according to a Havana Radio broadcast monitored in Miami.

THE OPEN letter was in reply to one sent by 50 prominent leftist writers, philosophers and filmmakers to Cuban Premier Fidel Castro last week denouncing the Stalinist-like repression of intellectual freedom in Cuba and, specifically, Padilla's arrest and self-confession.

That letter was the second sent by the intellectuals to Castro; an earlier one was fired off shortly after Padilla's arrest on March 20.

The latest document was signed by many of the intellectuals who had signed the sism does not belong to the earlier letter, including history of our revolution, but writer-philosopher French Jean Paul Sartre; his wife Simone de Beauvoir; Italian writers Alberto Moravia and Pier Paolo Passolini and Julio Cortazar, an expatriate Argentine novelist living in France.

ALL HAD ardently supported the Castro regime in earlier years.

"If the first letter that many of you signed could be interpreted as a gesture of solidarity, although erroneous, toward me, this (last letter) is a pretext to attack he Cuban Revolution and stir up reactionary hatred toward all the sociaist countries," Padilla was quoted as saying by Havana Radio.

Calling the intellectuals "narcisists of art and philosophy thousands of miles from our shores," Padilla added that:

"You always talk of Stalinism. Whatever the final balance may be of that period, which the Soviets themselves will be in charge of making, the so-called Stalinto a moment in the history of the Soviet Union.

"TO SAY that Cuba is in a similar situation is to defame our fatherland, a cowardly and cynical attitude from those who wish to appear as the defenders of socialist legality.

"Our preoccupation work, study, the plans that transform our country. Your preoccupation is Parisian tattling, the boasting of elegance, which were the most odious defects in pre-Castro Cuba, and which you represent to a maximum degree.

"You may say that I have not written this letter. That this is not my style . . . you who never bothered about my style . . . since you always saw me as an underdeveloped writer . . . if you now give me importance it is to attack the revolution, which is your real target.

Padilla concludes the letter by telling the intellectuals to "continue benefitting the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the international reactionaries . . . Cuba doesn't nced you."

ST. LOUIS, MO. POST-DISPATCH

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#### Healthy Disillusionment

The long romance between left-wing intellectuals and Castro Cuba appears to have ended in a healthy burst of realism—a commodity sadly lacking on all sides of the Cuban controversy.

Sixty disillusioned Western intellectuals have signed a letter to Premier Castro, protesting the five-week imprisonment and "confession" of poet Heberto Padilla. In the confession the poet called himself a string of names and accused two French intellectuals to whom he had talked of working for the CIA.

The 60 intellectuals (including Jean-Paul Sartre, Alberto Moravia, Simone de Beauvoir, Susan Sontag) term the confession a parody and the CIA charges absurd. But principally they assert that with such police-state tactics Cuba is veering toward "the repressive system imposed by Stalinism on the socialist countries."

All the signers have been champions of Castroism from the start, as they note in their letter. It might be asked why they ever believed a dictatorship could long endure as a benevolent one, and perhaps the answer is that to these intellectuals Cuba was a model of socialism. In the end, however, they frankly conceded that it was not.

Unfortunately, on the other side of the Cuban question, realism is not yet so easily come by, and the socialism that was for too long the touchstone of belief on the left remains a rock of anathema on the right. At least the intellectuals now concede that Castroism is not the best of all possible worlds. Have the State Department in Washington, or succeeding Admin-

istrations there, ever been ready to admit that it is not the worst?

The United States policy of attempting to quarantine Castro is not, after all, based on the objection that he is following a more Stalinist course, for Washington recognizes several governments doing that. Nor is the policy founded on opposition to dictators, for some of Washington's best friends are dictators.

No, Castro's sin was to bring Communism to the backyard of the United States, and to nationalize U.S. properties, rebuff U.S. policies and repel a U.S.-led invasion. Since then the objection has been that he has tried to export revolution, but he has had no luck whatsoever.

After a dozen years with Castro next door, a realistic view would establish two things: he is no threat to the United States, and the quarantine policy is not going to make him or his brand of Communism go away.

What the policy ones accomplish is to leave Castro totally dependent upon the Russian bloc, deprive the Cuban people of new outside democratic contacts, and deprive the United States itself of the small diplomatic and commercial connections that might, at best, be moderating influences on the Stalinist trend and, at least, be sources of information.

It is time for a healthy disillusionment with a containment policy that has so largely contained its sponsors. While Castro is not openly seeking an approach to the United States, it is he who has been rejected and even attacked. It is the U.S. that has the power and position to take the initiative in its own self-interest.

May 24, 1971

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# Approved For Release 2001/03/04 CIA-RDP80

## 60 Western Intellectuals Berate Castro



Jean-Paul Sartre



Susan Sontag



Alberto Moravia

राज्यकार राज्ये श्रेष्ट्री स्थापन करवासी

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, May 21-Sixty Euro-labsurd. pean and American intellec-Premier Fidel Casto to express friend and aide of the Premier. their disillusionment with him A prominent French expert over Cuba's treatment of the on Latin America, Marcel Niepoet Heberto Padilla.

The letter, which was distributed here last night, re- fective break of European, called that the signatories had United States and Latin-Amerfrom the very first as "a model in the realm of socialism." But tically supported in the nine-teen-sixties. now, the letter declared, they felt it their duty to convey their shame and anger to Mr. Castro.

Their reaction had been aroused by a 4,000-word "confession" signed by Mr. Padilla during his recent imprisonment in Havana. He was arrested March 20 on unspecified charges and released April 28.

In the confession, the text of which was distributed outside Cuba by the Government press agency, Prensa Latina, Mr. Padilla who is 39 years old, accused himself of having slan-dered the Cuban revolution, rades Belkis Cuza, Díaz Marnotably in conversations with tinez, Cesar Lopez and Pablo visiting foreign intellectuals. The poet, who described himself as ignoble, unjust, cowardly, treacherous and lying, said two of the intellectuals worked for the United States Central Intelligence Agency.

In the letter the 60 intellectuals de ribed to ed Por Refease 2004/03/04nd Charleton delirious and termed the ac-

cusations of C.I.A. affiliation

The signers also included tuals, among them Jean-Paul Carlos Franqui, the former Sartre, Albert Moravia and editor of the Havana daily Susan Sontag, have written to Revolución and erstwhile close

dergang, commented in the newspaper Le Monde today that the letter marked the efdefended the Cuban revolution ican intellectuals with the Cu-

> TEXT OF THE STATEMENT Following, in translation, is the text of the statement:

We hold that it is our duty to inform you of our shame and anger.

The deplorable text of the confession signed by Heberto Padilla can only have been obtained by means amout to the negation of revolutionary legality and jus-

The contents of this confession, with its absurd accusations and delirious assertions, as well as the pitiable parody Armando Fernández submitted to at the seat of the National Union of Cuban Writers and Artists, recall the most sordid moments of the era of Stalinism, with its prefabricated verdicts and its witch-hunts.

[It is] with the same vehemence that from the very ing the Cuban revolution, which seemed to us exemplary in its respect for the human being and in its struggle for liberation, that weexhort you to spare Cuba dogmatic obscurantism, cultural xenophobia and the repressive system imposed by Stalinism on the socialist countries and of which events similar to those now occurring in Cuba were flagrant manifestations.

The contempt for human dignity implied in the act of forcing a man into ludicrously accusing himself of the worst treasons and indignities does not alert us because it con-cerns a writer but because any Cuban comrade-peasant, worker, technician or intellectual-can also become the victim of similar violence and humiliations.

We would want the Cuban revolution to return to what made us consider it as a model in the realm of socialism.

Claribel Alegria Simone de Beauvoir Ternando Benitez lacques-Laurent Bost talo Calvino lose-Maria\_Castallet Fernando Claudin Tamara Deutscher Roger Dosse Margueritte Duras Giulio Einaudi Hans-Magnus Enzensberger

Enzensberger Francisco-Fernandez Santos Darwin Flakoll Jean-Michel Fossey Carlos Franqui Carlos Fuentes Angel Gonzales Adriano Gonzales Leon Jose-Agustin

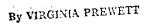
Lucio Magri Joyce Mansour Dacia Maraini Juan Marse Dionys Mascolo Plinio Mendoza Plinio Mendora Istvan Meszaris Ray Miliban Carlos Monsivals Marco-Antonio Montes de Oca Alberto Moravia Maurica Nadau Alberto Moravia Maurice Nadeau Jose Emillo Pache Pier-Paolo Pasolini Ricardo Porro Jean Pronteau Paul Rebeyrolles Alain Resnals Jose Rayueltas Rossana Rossanda Vincente Roy Juan Rulfo Nathalie Sarraute Pacneo Nathalie Sarraute Jean-Paul Sartre Jorge Semprun

#### Approved For:Release,2001/03/04: CIA-RDP

14 MAY 1971

The created attacks the creaters

# Castro wars on intellectuals



FIDEL CASTRO, who permits no degree of independent thought much less open dissent on his island, has launched a broad general attack on the "bourgeois leftist intellectuals" of the Western

This is a direct turnabout, for Castro is the unique creation of the very same intellec-tuals whom he now castigates as "shameless" -and "agents of the CIA."

The story of how his importance as a guer-The story of now his importance as a guer-rilla leader sprang full-fledged from the writ-ings of the New York Times correspondent and editorialist, Herbert Matthews, is well known. But Fidel enjoyed for years the inter-national support of many more "bourgeois lef-tist intellectuals" and indeed was their special here until disconhantment began to set in two hero until disenchantment began to set in two or more years ago.

Overt warfare against Castro broke out when the Maoist French journalist, K.S. Karol (born a Pole) and the Moscow-lining French agronomist, Rene Dumont, published major works attacking Castro's system, which they studied at first hand.

The charges are similar and they are serlous: that Castro's regime is a personal dicta-torship in which Castro has over-militarized Cuban society and ruined its economy thru tight-held personal rule.

Altho Castro's original U.S. apologists are in the main still loyal and a Castro cult flour-ishes in corners of many U.S. campuses, the fashion has passed elsewhere as French, Eng--lish and even Latin American leitist intellectuals fall into step behind Karol and Dumont. An Argentine leftist, Julio Cortezar, has earned Fidel's special insults.

Castro's home-grown intellectuals began feeling the pinch almost as soon as they temerged under his system, which stuffs his propaganda down his subjects' throats the way furance farmers fatted gave his immobile European farmers fatten geese - by immobilizing them and force-feeding them. One of the "stars" Castro produced is Heriberto Padilla, a poet whose fame was built up with the

awarding of an international poetry prize in - 1933.

But Padilla sinned. He dared entertain notions not allowed in Castro's catechism. As did the medieval Church, Castro arrested him and turned him over to inquisitors. Padilla broke and committed the greatest self-betrayal possible to an intellectual. He recanted in a typical communist-style "confession," attempting to smear Dumont, the Argentine Cotezar, and Cuoan intellectuals.

The imprisonment and forced confession of Padilla have sent shock waves thruout Latin America's intellectual circles. In Peru, an editorialist wrote:

"This case goes far beyond a personal incldent. It offends the intellectual dignity of all the hemisphere. And the jailor (Castro) who exhibits such a sad confession or self-criticism in the ingenuous belief that he has won a victory only succeeds in providing us with docu-mentary proof of his own villany."

Castro's once-vociferous supporters in the United States have ignored the case.

# Approved For Release 2001/03/04 CIA-RDP80-016



# Ah, the CIA's at it again

Dr Castro's Cuba is turning orthodox—in its treatment of dissenting intellectuals and, the Russians hope, in its economic policy

The Cuban revolution has been shedding admirers like autumn leaves for the past 12 years. What has happened to the poet Heberto Padilla will shake off some of the ones who remain. Sr Padilla first ran into trouble in 1968, when an international jury awarded him a prize for a work which mentioned that there were camps for political prisoners in Cuba and that unpleasant things happened to prisoners. The Cuban government objected, and the army's magazine attacked him; but, perhaps because the jury was an international one and foreign writers protested, Sr Padilla's work was published. He himself remained unmolested until, for no apparent reason, he was arrested six weeks ago and released on April 27th only after signing a public self-criticism in which he rejected all his past works and admitted that he had played up the worst features of the Cuban revolution "to attract attention to himself." He also accused two French writers, who published his criticisms of Cuba,

of being CIA agents.

The fact that the two Frenchmen, M. K. S. Karol and M. René Dumont, have impeccable socialist credentials makes the whole self-criticism look an obvious fake; a former close friend of Padilla says it could only have been extracted under torture. It used to be said of Cuba that at least it allowed more freedom of artistic expression than most of the communist countries in Europe. Dr Castro has been notably tolerant of abstract art, no doubt feeling that it was not worth banning because it cannot convey a clear message one way or another. But other arts have had to live under censorship for years. Now Dr Castro has decided that dissident intellectuals cannot be tolerated for the sake of their foreign sympathisers. And on May Day he contemptuously dismissed those left-wing writers abroad, including Jean-Paul Sartre and Alberto Moravia, who had written to him objecting to the treatment of Padilla. "We reject all the pretensions of the mafia of bourgeois intellectuals, the pseudo-leftists, their pretensions to become the critical conscience of society."

Dr Castro has broken off the long honeymoon with the intellectual left because it offered only critical sympathy, and he wants uncritical support. Why he chose to move against Sr Padilla just now is a mystery. It may be fanciful to put it down to Russian pressure on him to deal with his own local Solzhenitsyn. But it is not being too fanciful to detect the Russian hand in that part of his May Day speech which suggested the introduction of material incentives to beat the problem of low productivity. In admitting that this year's sugar harvest was falling behind schedule—the target has had to be cut from 7 million to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  million tons—he hinted that Cuba's uncommonly austere maximum wage might have to be raised. Apphoved For Release 200 P/03/04 line JALR DP80 101601700050003000 106 econ-moves in the same direction: in December he promised omic failure—may be the explanation of the Padilla affair.

that a limited number of refrigerators and other consumer goods would be distributed to exemplary workers.

Yet even these moves would have been heresy in the days of Che Guevara. Dr Castro himself has constantly declared his preference for the revolutionary man who works without thought of personal gain or comfort. He once promised to do away with "that vile intermediary, money." But since the failure to reach last year's target of 10 million tons of sugar, on which he had publicly staked the honour of the revolution, Dr Castro has clearly had to do some new thinking. And the Russians have been on hand to guide his thoughts towards material incentives. It is no coincidence that Mr Baibakov, the head of the Soviet central planning office, has been in Havana for the past week. The Russians are known to regard the Cuban emphasis on "voluntary" labour as the major cause of the low productivity, absenteeism and idleness Dr. Castro has bitterly complained about. And they have a vested interest in improving Cuba's ability to start repaying its colossal debt to Russia, which one estimate puts at more than \$1,500 million.

The Russians have the necessary leverage; estimates of the number of Russian advisers on the island range between 6,000 and 20,000. But money cannot spur the Cubans on until there is something worth while to spend it on. At present almost everything is rationed, and a Cuban's ration card enables him to buy goods worth only 20 pesos a month, which is less than a quarter of the value of the minimum wage. It may take a long time before there is enough of anything to take it off the ration list. Meantime Dr Castro has had to resort to tighter discipline to improve productivity. This is being done partly through dossiers for each worker, in which too many black marks earn a punishment, and partly through a tough new absentee law that sends

offenders off to work camps.

To revive the sagging morale of the Cubans after last summer's fiasco with the sugar harvest, Dr Castro started talking about "participation." There were trade union elections in November, with a secret ballot and three times as many candidates as places to fill. The students are soon to hold similar elections. This is a major step of liberalisation, even though all the candidates have to be "fully identified with the revolution's aims," and Dr Castro apparently hopes the elections will clear out some of the old party hacks who have not had enough personal authority to carry out his orders. But he is treading on a minefield. He has promised the trade unions a national congress in 1972, and a freely elected congress could blow up in his face. It could also set off demands for a similar congress of the communist party, which has not held one since it was formed in 1965. The need to

#### Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R000500030001-6 STATINTL

BUFFALO, N.Y. COURIER EXPRESS

MAY 7 1979 M = 154,8298 - 307,693

Taxpayer Is Irked By Spending of CIA

Editor: In regard to Jack Anderson's column "Washington Merry-Go-Round" anent the ton Merry-Go-Round" anent the buried cash in the Florida Keys, furnished to Cuban exile leaders ostensibly for financing clandestine operations against Castro in Cuba, may I ask:

What power has the CIA got to bypass all the rules and regulations of the General Accounting Office, which

regulations of the General Accounting Office, which issually requires a voucher from a government employe?

On what authorization is cash disbursed to any Tom, Dick or Harry who claims to be a Cuban exile leader? And how much of this ready cash finds its way into the coffers of Castro, through phonies allowed to leave Cuba and pose as exile leaders? Let's have the full story on the CIA machinations, and who the power is behind the CIA and its operations all over the globe.

The next theater of operations will be the voodoo dictatorship of the Duvaliers in Haiti, Let's not start pouring our hardearned dollars into Haiti for the perpetuation of the Duvalier family "welfare" state.

ANGRY TAXPAYER

Jamestown

Jamestown

Approved For Release 2001/03/04: CIA-RDP

LOS ANGELES, CAL. TIMES

y = 948,782 s = 1,253,556MAY 4 1971

#### Same Old Story

The rumored arrest of Herberto Padilla, the well-known Cuban writer, has been confirmed by Radio Havana. The arrest of the 39-year-old author is not surprising. He has been a critic of the Castro regime.

What was notable was the broadcast of a self-critical letter which Padilla apparently wrote in jail. Padilla said he had engaged in "counter-revolutionary activities, including giving information to foreign visitors...agents of the United States Central Intelligence Agency." Who are these agents? He named K. S. Karol, the writer, and Rene Dumont, the economist, both French Marxists, and both critical of the Castro government.

Padilla's self-abasing, penitent confession of his attempt to remain a free man is reminiscent of a dark page of the past: the purge trials in the Soviet Union in the middle 1930s when Padillo and Castro were school children.

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M = 109,469S = 176,258

MAY 3 1971

#### Intellectuals At Bay

EVERYONE should know by now that a Communist country is no place for a dissident. A person who disagrees with a MARXIST Government is not just an unpopular figure but an enemy of the State.

Russia has proved that over and over as it has arrested, tried and convicted intellectuals and others who dared to write or utter criticism of the Almighty Government, the Communist substitute for God. Some have been sent to Siberia to maintain that wasteland's fearsome reputation; others have gone the mental-hospital route. The Kremlin is resourceful in its choice of dreadful detentions.

Now we see that faithful imitator, FIDEL CASTRO, announcing a crack-down on Cuban intellectuals who dare to suggest that all is not perfect in his Commie paradise.

One prominent Cuban poet already has "confessed" to counter-revolutionary writings and collaboration

with alleged CIA agents in France and elsewhere. That set off CASTRO's blast against Cuban critics and the "shameless leftists" in Western countries who defend them.

"You bourgeois intellectual gentlemen, you agents of the CIA are not wanted in Cuba," CASTRO said in a weekend speech. "There's no room in Cuba for you, just as there's none for UPI and AP American news services. There will be no halfway measures. We're not going to handle anyone with kid gloves."

The Communist leaders, wherever they are, make their iron intolerance very clear. Only the bravest or most reckless rebels would brave their wrath.

If one is going to be a dissident intellectual, how much more sensible it is to operate in a country like the United States, where anti-Government critics not only are lionized in highbrow circles but receive thousands of dollars on the liberal lecture circuit.

#### Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01 2 MAY 1971

Against

# Fidel Raps Pseudo-Leftists' Who Pose as Cuba's Friends

#### By The Associated Press

Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro Saturday excoriated writers and intellectuals who he said tried to pass themselves off as sympathizers of the revolution but in reality "are at war against us."

Without mentioning names, Castro said these "disgraceful pseudo-leftists. want to win laurels writing is Paris and London instead. of being in the front lines of combat."

IT WAS the first mention by Castro of a controversy surrounding prize-winning

who was jailed for several weeks in Havana before issuing what the Castro regime called a "confession of his counter-revolutionary crimes."

Padilla, who won the Cuban national poetry prize in 1963, named several European writers as being agents of the CIA. He said he had \sqrt{ passed restricted information to Polish-French writer Kares Karol and Frenchman Rene Dumont, among others.

Castro, in a post-midnight speech in Havana that was monitored in Miami, said these "reactionary bourgeoisie have no right to continue implanting poison, injustice and intrigue in the revolu-

Cuban poet Heberto Padilla, CASTRO, speaking at the close of a conference on education, said that in the future, literary prizes would be awarded only to those who are true revolutionaries and that Cuba would not be "used" in the future by visiting "pseudo-intellectual writ-

> "The agents of the CIA and the agents of imperialism are advised that they will have no entry to Cuba, just as we do not permit entry to UPI and the AP . . .

> The latter reference was to the international news agencies United press International and The Associated Press, whose Havana offices were closed by the Castro regime late last year.

#### Approved For Release 2001/03/04 AGIA-RDP80-2 MAY 1971

# Intellectuals Protest Castro's Treatment of Poet Padill

By FRANK SOLER Herald Latin America Staff

Prominent leftwing European and Latin American intellectuals, long sympathetic to the Fidel Castro regime, have publicly protested mounting artistic repression in Cuba.

The group includes such figures as Jean Paul Sartre, the French writer and philosopher; his wife. Simone de Beauvoir; Julio Cortazar, an Argentine expatriate writer now living in France; Italian novelist Alberto Moravia and Jose Agustin Goitisolo, of Spain.

They joined other intellectuals in signing a direct protest to Castro which appeared as an open letter in the prestigious Paris newspaper Le Monde.

Among the others who signed the message was Carlos Franqui, a former editor of the Castroite Cuban newspaper Revolucion. Franqui has been living in Europe for . some time.

" THE MESSAGE specifical-Iv criticized the arrest in Havana last March of Cuban poet Heberto Padilia, presumably as a result of ideological differences with the government. Padilla, 39, was released last week after ""confessing" to anti-government sentiments.

"The persons whose signatures appear below . . . address this letter to you (Castro) to express our concern over the arrest of the well known poet and writer Heberto Padilla and ask you to please examine well the situation . . . " the open letter said.

". . . the use of repressive methods against intellectuals and writers who exercise the

renercussions . . ."

The criticism by foreign intellectuals apparently infuriated Castro, who responded early Saturday with an angry denunciation of "shameless leftists" in Western countries who try to defend dissident Cuban artists.

Other leftist intellectuals joined the campaign last week after Cuba announced Padilla had "confessed" that his award-winning book "Fuera del Juego," or "Out of the Game" and his other works were "counterrevolutionary" and had served only to aid "agents of the CIA."

The "confession," according to the Miami-monitored broadcast, described Rene Dumont, a well-known agronomist-econo-\_/ mist, and K. S. Karol, a French-Polish journalist, as CIA agents. Dumont and Karol, both leftists who earlier had supported Castro, recently wrote boos critical of Cuba.

The books, Dumont's "Cuba: Is It Socialist?" and "Guerrillas Karol's Power," were harshly criticized by Cuban officials.

In what was interpreted as an attempt to discredit Dumont's book, Cuba earlier this year produced a Cuban agronomist named Raul

Alonso Enrique Olive who "confessed" (after a year in prison) that he had been acting as a CIA agent when he provided information to Du-

Padilla was quoted as saying that he wrote a few chapters of a "counterrevolutionary" novel which he distributed to "the English editor Deutch," "the Spanish editor Barral" and Jose Agustin Goitisolo, the Spanish intellectual who signed the preconfession protest.

protest, was accused by Padilla as delivering a note to Barral promising to have "a trusted traveler" smuggle the manuscript to him.

Others mentioned in Padilla's "self-criticism" were poet Hans Mannes Eisenberger and a sociologist described only as Kissler, both West Germans.

HAVANA RADIO said Padilla admitted providing Kissler with "various détails about Cuba with the express recommendation that he hide them to keep them out of the hands of the state security department."

"I wanted to be the only writer in Cuba to oppose the revolutionary process and impose his ideas," Padilla said according to the radio. "What interested me was to call attention to myself and benefit from the scandal."







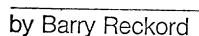


MORAVIA

right of criticism proved Formers as 2001703/04: CIA-RDP80-01601R000500030001-6 only have professional project who also signed the

MAY 1971

# Sex, Work, and Wotivation in Castro's Cuba



To the outside world, Cuba was first a philosopher's revolution, and commentators were too absorbed in the speculation about Castro's conversion to Marxism to see anything else. Lately, it has become a statistician's revolution, and on these terms, a great success. Although the country didn't reach the goal of a 10-millionton sugar cane harvest last year, it has made fantastic gains in education, medical care, based on aid yardsticks, Cuba is the most effective development model in the hemisphere.

But the Cubans themselves have somehow gotten lost in the philosophy and the numbers, in the meaning of all they are supposed to represent. Barry Reckord, a Jamaican playwrite, spent several months traveling in Cuba during 1969, talking to people-the inspired, the disgruntled, the indifferent. He finds the country optimistic, fairly stable, and struggling with low rice production, need for machinery, Castro's desire to remain independent from foreign coercion while still having to accept Soviet aid, and his knowledge that bureaucracy could be the downfall of the revolu-

Reckord brings back conflicting

conversations that orbit around the question of how a nation can inspire its people without resorting to the individual profit motive or to the force of the state. Cuba, he says, is attempting an appeal to conscience and voluntarism, and the results may make Cuba a lesson not only for South America but for the United States as well.

#### The Absentee Worker

The absentee and his wife were watching a Cuban television drama, an incredible business of slapped faces that snapped back defiant, chained hands, and blazing revolutionary eyes. Her head was in his comfortable lap. They offered to turn down the telly, but I said I'd come again. The comfort seemed unbreakable.

I managed to see him two weeks later. He was still happily loafing, taking two or three days off a week. Since there's little to buy, many Cubans can live on half a month's wages, so absenteeism is a serious problem in Cuba and the subject of many a government campaign. A report published in *Granma*, the official newspaper, for example, in October, 1969, made it clear that on one farm in Camaguey attendance was as low as 45 per cent, and in most places no higher than 65 per cent.

This article was adapted from Does Fidel Eat More Than Your Father?, to be published this month by Praeger. ©1971 by Barry Reckord.

Approved For Release 2001/03/04s RDP80-0160



#### Observations

A retired high-ranking Federal official has confided to WO that during the Batista regime in Cuba, vast amounts of American small arms were smuggled to Fidel Castro. And while this anonymous official was investigating this flagrant violation of the Neutrality Act, CIA Director Allen Dulles, suddenly intervened and brought pressure to kill the investigation. All records and evidence adduced were ordered burned. Ironically, a man involved in the Castro arms smuggling conspiracy was in Dallas on the day that President John F. Kennedy was assassinated. Serving as a member of the Warren Commission, Allen Dulles averted a probe of this suspect's activities at that time. This is one of the biggest, unsolved mysteries of the Central Intelligence Agency.

#### Approved For Release 2001/03/09/1 CIA-RDP80

RUGHES Mystery Columnist Jack Anderson has written two sensational articles charging that the Central Intelligence Agency hired former FBI<sub>V</sub>

agent, Robert Maheu, deposed head of Hughes' Nevada empire, to assassinate Cuba's Fidel Castro during the Kennedy Administration. Maheu allegedly recruited underworld characters and Cuban anti-Castro refugees. According to Anderson, six abortive attempts were made to kill Castro. Finally, Anderson threw in this blockbuster: "Among those privy to the CIA conspiracy, there is still a nagging suspicion—unsupported by the Warren Commission's findings—that Castro became aware of the U.S. plot upon his life and somehow recruited Oswald to retaliate against President Kennedy."

Anderson was confronted by other newsmen, who asked: "The Communist press charged several years ago that there was a CIA plot to murder Castro. Why did you take so long to publish it?" Anderson replied: "Well, I did not know about it being published in the Communist press. I was recently approached by a certain group to run the story. I wondered why they wanted me to use it at this particular time. So I checked on it through my CIA contacts and found the story to be true. I ran the story. That's all. I have no further comment."

Anderson did not explain the fact that he and Drew Pearson started playing footsie with Maheu in 1947 when Maheu resigned from the FBI, and set up a gumshoe office called "Robert A. Maheu Associates" with an office located at 900 - 17th Street, N.W. Suite 316, Washington 6, D.C., and another office located in Suite 316, Kirkeby Center, 10889 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 24, Calif. Maheu hired two other ex-FBI agents, namely Charles H. Olsen and William J. Staten, later.

Ironically, in 1947 Drew Pearson, Jack Anderson and Robert Maheu were simultaneously engaged in gumshoe work for Hughes, trying to discredit Sen. Owen Brewster and his Senate investigating committee that was looking into Hughes' military contracts (most of Hughes' \$2 billion fortune was made in Federal contracts).

Secretary of State William P. Rogers played a mystifying role in the complicated Hughes-Brewster investigations. In 1947, Rogers was chief counsel for Brewster's committee. Insiders say Rogers sabotaged Brewster at the behest of Herbert Brownell, 1948 Presidential campaign manager for Tom Dewey. Brewster supported Bob Taft for President.

From 1947 to 1951, Hughes carried on a vigorous anti-Communist crusade in the motion picture industry. In 1948, when Hughes acquired control of the RKO Corporation, he fired Paul Jarrico, \$2,000-a-week screen writer, who refused to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee, and he also fired RKO's production manager, Dore Schary, chief smear propagandist for the ADL. Schary and the Hollywood Reds took vengeance on Hughes, causing him endless lawsuits, sabotage and bad publicity, finally driving him out of the film industry.

Currently, Bob Maheu is collaborating with journalist James Phelan on a book about Hughes. Perhaps the book will throw new light on the

Hughes mystery.

In any event, Washington Observer herewith contributes a few unpublished facts about persons who played a silent role in the Hughes history. WO hopes to uncover more facts in this strange real-life melodrama involving persons in high political office and underworld overlords like Meyer Lansky and Joseph "Doc" Stacher, both now operating their worldwide gambling syndicate from their new headquarters in Israel.

STATINTL

#### Approved For Release 2001/03/04 RCIA-RDP80-016

3 0 APR 1971

#### MEXICO MAY END PACT

# Cuban Flights in Jeopardy

By JEREMIAH O'LEARY Star Staff Writer

MEXICO CITY — Cuba is going to have to mend a lot of fences with Mexico if Fidel Castro expects to continue sending two commercial flights a week of Cubana airline here after July.

Mexican officials made it clear this week that unless Cuba makes some kind of overture, the Cubana flights are going to cease. Furthermore, Mexico is going to insist on renegotiation of the entire aviation agreement if Cuba is to retain this access to Latin America — the only door open to Havana except from Chile.

Although the new government of President Luis Echeverria does not appear quite as angry at the Cubans as was the predecessor regime of President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, foreign office officials left no doubt that Cuba is going to have to show considerably more good-will than it has in the past if the airline connection is to continue.

tion is to continue.

Three incidents involving Castro's government have offended Mexico. Two of the incidents were hijackings and the other was the ouster of a Mexican diplomat from Havana on charges that the diplomat was a CIA agent and also a purveyor of visas for a price.

One of the hijackings was carried out by two young Mexicans. When Mexico demanded

their extradition, Cuba refused on the grounds of the right of asylum. Mexico pointed out that the Mexicans could just as easily have bought tickets for \$60 each and gone to Havana on Cubana. But Cuba would not give them up. The other hijacking angered the Mexicans even more because the culprits were Dominicans. Once again Mexico demanded extradition and Cuba refused.

To add insult to injury, the Cubans handed the Mexican government a large bill for landing at Havana, for fuel and even added charges for food and cigars that were given the hijacked passengers at Havana.

As required by international agreement, Mexico denounced the reciprocal aviation treaty

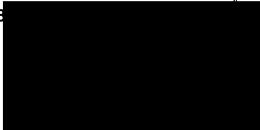
and a one-year grace period began. That time expires at the end of July. Mexican officials say they have not heard a word on the subject from the Cuban government since the treaty was denounced.

As always, Cuba's plans are difficult to assess. Some observers believe Cuba is waiting until the last moment and then will make an approach that will permit extension of the air service beyond July.

Others think Cuba is banking on the planned connection with the new leftist government of Chile, for which arrangements already have been made.

It is difficult to find anyone who professes to understand why Castro is so cavalier in his treatment of Mexico.

Approved For Release 2001/03/04-: CIA-RDP8
20 April 1971



# The Honorable Men Of The CIA

Last week Richard Helms in his first public speech since his 1966 appointment as director of the Central Intelligence Agency tried to counter what he characterized as a "persistent and growing body of criticism which questions the need and the propriety for a democratic society to have a Central Intelligence Agency." He attributed the criticism to an "inherent American distaste for peacetime gathering of intelligence," and told his audience that the nation must "take it on faith that we too are honorable men devoted to her service."

If Mr. Helms's analysis of information gathered abroad is as incomplete and misleading as his interpretation of what prompts criticism of his agency here at home, then the country is clearly in trouble. It is not the intelligence gathering aspect of the CIA's operations that has fed the growing body of criticism. What the critics object to are covert paramilitary operations around the globe, and they question whether the secrecy that is admittedly required for some aspects of intelligence gathering should be extended to cover a host of questionable and frequently illegal activities under the pretext of serving an undefined "national interest."

In the years since it has become active in covert operations the CIA has financed the invasions of two countries, Cuba and Guatemala, and otherwise influenced the establishment and overthrow of governments in a number of lands, including Vietnam. It provided planes and mercenary pilots to the Congo (some of the same men it trained to invade Cuba) and for several years it has financed and directed a mercenary army in Laos in violation of our treaty commitments. At the same time it has engaged in activities that have more to do with propaganda than intelligence. It has subsidized magazines and publishing companies and the operation of radio

stations which free advertising in this country portrayed as supported by private donations.

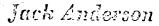
In addition there have been instances in recent years when the agency has apparently been successful in establishing for itself a place above the law. Two examples are the dismissal of a slander suit against an agent on the ground that, even though his statements were not substantiated, he was acting under orders, and the case of the Green Berets accused by the Army of murdering a suspected Vietnamese double agent, but never brought to trial because the CIA refused to supply witnesses.

Even assuming that Mr. Helms is correct in his contention that the agency functions under the tight control of the President, an assumption which many knowledgable critics dispute, the fact remains that the agency's activities have evaded the checks provided by the Constitution and in doing so it has deceived the American people. The issue, then, is not whether the men in charge of the CIA are devoted, or even honorable, and faith is not the answer to such fundamental criticism. It was faith in the efficacy of covert military and political manipution, after all, that propelled us into our tragic involvement in Southeast Asia.

What is needed is a check on the presidential fascination with Mr. Helms's "Department of Dirty Tricks," a fascination that has pervaded the past four administrations. Congress is the appropriate body to provide that check, even though at present it is not doing so. The supervision now supplied by a handful of key members of Congress is, in the words of a recent Twentieth Century Fund study, "only sporadic and largely ex post facto." Fortunately there are efforts now underway to strengthen congressional overview of the CIA. These efforts deserve the support of the American people.

# Approved For Release 2001/03/04 COA-RDP8

18 APR 1977



## JEK Death Fig 100 But on the day of the final rehearsal, President Kennedy Cuban Oil Raid

THE SUPPRESSED STORY can now be told of how the

Insiders say the corporate fineries. Lyndon Johnson, to Cuba. who canceled the raid after to Texas oil interests.

matic details from Bradley high-powered fiberglass boat. Ayers, a 36-year-old former Army captain, who was seenals with the partisans lected by the CIA to train ashore in Pinar del Rio and Cuban exiles for infiltration launched two rubber boats. and assault missions includ- The team made contact with ing the refinery raid in Ma- the partisans, and we picked

sources, who confirm he is were careless with the lights. correct about names, places against Cuba.

trained the refinery raiders. up. The recruiting for the mission had already been completed before he was asficials took him by motor a load of refulaunch through swampy Everglades canals and across the open sea to secluded Florida. Supplies for agents already in Keys to meet the recruits.

lected Palo Alto Key, Upper Ayers was instructed by the Key Largo and Card Sound CIA to make detailed trainon the edge of the Ever-ing plans for the refinery glades as training sites raid.
"Most of the Cubans," said He "Most of the Cubans," said He was given specific or-Ayers, "were bank clerks, ders not to land on Cuba busboys, waiters, musiciens, himself during the raid. But laborers, men who had fied he was too emotionally into the United States. Many Volved with the Cubous' had never fired a weapon, cause to stay out and wrote undisciplined. I got the job were all on a live-for-today, of reorganizing the training program."

organized a Cuban exile raid microwave facility with a fighters with the microwave facility with a cials I knew. But I just got disappointed and angul."

1963 but aborted it after the nights, he shared black beans and rice, drank and small finally in October 1964. "pot" with his Cuban cadre.

The rag-tag recruits gradoil giants, hoping eventually ually became a fighting team. to recover their property in For firsthand experience, he Cuba, brought quiet pressure secretly accompanied two into quash any raids upon re. filtration groups on missions

"We went on a commersucceeding Mr. Kennedy in cially rigged trawler, a couldn't subordinate my the White House, was close 'cover' vessel," he said. "We duty. My country was no ran blackout under a quarter. We have learned the dra- moon, towing a V-20 launch, a

"We exchanged light sigtanzas province.

We have checked out been a prisoner of Castro.

Ayers' story with our own But the Cuban partisans

"After we got the wounded and dates. From a group of man into a rubber boat, we pictures, Ayers also was able were discovered by a Sovietto pick out immediately a type patrol craft with spot-CIA undercover operative lights. We covered our with-who we knew had been in-drawal with machineguns volved in the CIA raids from the V-20 boat. Although we took casualties, we finally The rugged Ayers, a for- got back to the trawler. Our mer Army ranger instructor, boats were pretty well shot

"On the way home, we saw a Cuban fishing craft flying a signed to the project. CIA of distress flag and found it had a load of refugees. We took

A second sortie to cache Cuba was less eventful. Fi-Ayers and the CIA men se. nally, in September, 1963,

They were disorganized and himself into the plans. "We tomorrow-we-die philosophy, he explained.

was killed, and the CIA crdered Ayers to shut fown the operation. "I was in a sort of trauma," said the swashbuckling instructor. I made AYERS ran off simulated trips to Washington to plead raids near Card Sound the cause of the freedom

and rice, drank and smoked Ayers resigned from active duty with a long statement of principle to his CIA and Army superiors. "As a soldier, I had been taught I shouldn't question political or diplomatic action." be wrote. "But as a free-blaking American citizen. I duty. My country was no longer playing to win, and my faith in the goals to which I dedicated my life was shaken."

Approved For Release 2001/03/04: CIA-RDP80-01601R000500030001-6

The Washington Merry-Hadlowall

# rited to Blust Cuba Refinery By Jack Anderson The full, faminate story of the Bay of Figs has been untied for 10-years deep in the Central Intelligence Aroney's footestilk head parties in the Central Intelligence Aroney's footestilk head parties. The head parties are such and tollary in the Central Intelligence Aroney's footestilk head parties and consumer to the first world knows that Intelligence Aroney's footestilk head parties are such and tollary in the Central Intelligence Aroney's footestilk head parties are such and tollary in the Central Intelligence Aroney's footestilk head to be a first parties and tollary in the Central Intelligence Aroney's footed by the foot of the first parties are such as a Cubral beachead and very cut in the Central Intelligence are a cubral beachead and very cut in the Central Intelligence are a cubral beachead and very cut in the Central Intelligence are a cubral beachead and very cut in the Central Intelligence are a cubral beachead and very cut in the Central Intelligence are a cubral beachead and very cut in the Central Intelligence are a cubral beachead and very cut in the Central Intelligence are a cubral beachead and very cut in the Central Intelligence are a cubral beachead and very cut in the Central Intelligence are a cubral beachead and very cut in the Central Intelligence are a cubral beachead and very cut in the Central Intelligence are a cubral beachead and very cut in the Central Intelligence are a cubral beachead and very cut in the Central Intelligence are a cubral beachead and very cut in the Central Intelligence and the Intelligence and the Intelligence and the Intelligence and the Intelligence and Inte

# All About the

# Cuban Revolution

CUBA: The Pursuit of Freedom. By Hugh Thomas.

(Harper & Row, 1696 pp., illustrated, \$20)

#### Reviewed by Sir Herbert Marchant

The reviewer was the British ambassador to Cuba from 1960 to 1963. He retired from the British Diplomatic Service n 1966 and is now a delegate to the United Nations Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

"There are laws of political as well as of physical gravitation," wrote John Quincy Adams, "and if an apple, severed by the tempest from its native tree. cannot choose but fall to the ground, Cuba, forcibly disjoined from its own unnatural connection with Spain, can gravitate only towards the North American Union."

"Cuba: The Pursuit of Freedom" is Prof. Hugh Thomas' account of how Cuba came to defy these laws of political gravitation only to find herself joined in an even more "unnatural connection"-an asphyxiating dependence on the Soviet Union. "The Roads of My Cuba," so runs a sad little Cuban song, "Never Lead Where They Should."

It was as long ago as 1961 that the author, who had already given us the definitive history of the Spanish Civil War, set out to write his account of the Cuban Revolution. The offering he now makes us is a monument of industry and scholarship: 1,700 pages of scrupulously documented social history starting in 1762 with the capture of Havana by the British, and all tricked out with illustrations, family trees, maps, a glossary, 14 appendices, copious notes and a 70-page epilogue to bring the narrative right up to date. In short, a book that is uncommonly difficult to hold in the hand, but fascinatingly easy to read.

If the first half is pure history, the second is a happy mixture of historyand good journalism, based not merely on fastidious documentary research, but on the author's conversations with a host of personpart in the country's recent history. It is, of course, a

long haul from page 1 to good company all the way.

Cuba is a highly desirable piece of real estate, sepa-rated from the United States by a mere 90 miles of Gulf Stream. It is not surprising then, particularly in view of the economic potential of her sugar, that annexation has been under active and almost permanent consideration by America ever since she sent the first of a long line of controversial envoys to Cuba 200 years ago -often to the detriment of U.S.-Cuban relations. Prof. Thomas gives these relations his full and critical attention. As a professional historian he must, by now, be case-hardened to the political skullduggery normally practiced in the 18th and 19th centuries by powerful countries towards their weaker neighbors. But as a liberal (British style) Welshman, he clearly finds it difficult to write dispassionately about some of the maneuvering in U.S.-Cuban relations—particularly during the Castro era where the CIA was involved. The nar/ rative makes abundantly clear just why.

The author has an eye for significant and colorful detail and his portrait of Castro is the best of the many I have read. This 6 feet 4 prima donna—he weighed 10 lbs. at birth 45 years ago—is bigger than real life in almost every respect. His peronal brand of charisma may mystify Anglo-Saxons, but it has enabled him to achieve and retain dicta-torial powers as absolute as any in the world today. Prof. Thomas points out how, already in the Sierras, Castro proved himself to be as

leader by accommodating hinrself with existing political parties as well as with the Catholic Church. It is difficult to understand how this charisma, this political astuteness together with an astonishing ability to tiptoe out of a corner into which he has painted himself, could all have been so conunderrated by sistently American intelligence-and indeed by some Western diplomats on the spot.

Many people, both Cuban and American, believe that Castro has always been a Communist. Prof. Thomas does not, and shows how it was only after his accession page 1696, but you are in to power that he began to abandon his early rather vague liberal idealism—and then largely as a matter of expediency because Cuba needed Soviet aid to stay alive. In fact, of course, as this book amply demonstrates, Castvo's current ideology is a strangely personalized brand of Marxism, loose-fitting and nationalist, such as would be quite unacceptable in a Soviet citizen.

What of the effects of Castro's brand of communism on the economy of the country and the lives of its citizens? The balance sheet which the author draws up in his final chapter is wholly admirable in its clarity and its impartiality After outlining the benefits which have accrued to Cuba under Castro he writes: "It should be possible to stand back and welcome such changes that are incontestably benevolent, to question those that seem of uncertain merit, to denounce those which have been unjust or mistaken; to criticize tyrannical methods even if these resulted in some good being done." This is precisely what Prof. Thomas has succeeded in do-

conclusions, alas, make depressing reading for the many of us who had high hopes for the early idealism of the revolution. True, the corruption and venality of the Batista regime-"so great that even Latin Americans were astonished by it"—have been abolished; true, the Cuban people now enjoy a pride of nationhood, full employment and education for all. But what of the price they are paying!—the loss of

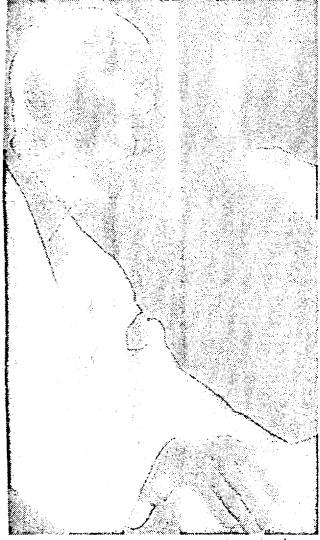
alities in Cultapproved Fon Release 2001/03/01/16/01/16/01R000500030001-6 United States who played a successful guerrilla guerrilla dependence on the Soviet

Union for their survival.

Perhaps it is too early to judge the success or failure of a 12-year-old revolution, but there is little in the picture Prof. Thomas paints of contemporary Cuba to suggest that Castro will be willing or able to change the course to which he has committed it. Poor Cuba, her "Pursuit of Freedom" is clearly not yet at an end.

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Associated Press

CIA Director Helms addresses newspaper editors.



# Russians' 1962 Aid Confirmed by

By Chaimers M. Roberts Washington Post Staff Writer

In his first public speech as CIA director, Richard Heims yesterday declared that "a number of well-placed and courageous Russians" helped the United States in identification of Soviet weapons in Cuba during the 1962 missile crisis.

He mentioned no names, but the reference clearly appeared to be to Col. Oleg Penkowky, the Soviet intelligence officer who brought much information out during visits to Lendon in the 16 months price to the missile crisis. He was arrested that October and subequently executed for treason.

"The Penkovsky Papers," were widely believed to be based on CIA interrogations, and the claim was made in the introduction that Penkovsky's information was invaluable during the Cuba crisis. Taking to newsmen after the speech, Helms acknowledged that the Russians he mantioned included Penkovsky.

However, not until Helms' speech yesterday at a lumcheon of the American Society of Newspaper Editors had an American official in a position to know come so close to eraditing Penkovsky openly.

Helms detailed the kind of work the CIA and other U.S. intelligence agencies did at the time, trying to separate fact from fiction about what Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev was doing in Cuba. He then included this paragraph:

"Our intelligence files in Washington, however-thanks to U-2 photography of the Sowell-placed and courageous Russians who helped us-ncluded a wealth of information on Soviet missile systems. We had descriptions or photographs of the missiles, their transporters and other associated equipment, and changteristic sites in the Soviet-Union."

This enabled specialists, with the help of pictures

Much of Helms' speech was a defense of the CIA against charges it is an "invisible gov-ernment." He denied reports the CIA is "somehow involved in the world diving traffic. Without mentioning recent charges against the FBI, Helms said that "we do not target on American citizens."

The closest Helms came to discussing the CIA's role in current policy issues was his reference to the ongoing strategic arms limitation talks. He said it would be "unthinkable" to conclude a SALT agreement with the Soviet Union "without the means for monitoring compliance."

He mentioned checking on published as a book in 1935, both offensive and defensive missile systems with a special -reference to the possibility raised in the Pentagon that the Soviets might upgrade certain surface-to-air missile sys-

> The United States "must have the means of detecting new developments which might convert one of the .regular Soviet air defense missile systems into an ABM network," Helms said.

"We make no foreign policy," he said. "The nation must to a degree take it on faith that we too are honorable men devoted to her service. I can assure you that we are but I am precluded from demonstrating it to the public," he added.

Helms, who has been with CIA since its creation in 1947 and has been its director since mid-1966, declared that "we not only have no stake in policy debates" within the administration "but we cannot and viet Union and to a number of must not take sides. The role of intelligence in policy formulation is limited to providing facts-the agreed factsand the whole known range of facts-relevant to the problem under consideration."

> The CIA under one of Helms' predecessors, Allen Dulles, was widely charged with advocacy in the Bay of Pigs debacle and in other covert activities. This was said to

set up the guidelines listed by Helms.

Approved For Release 2001/03264 CALATED TO THE OF T of the threat," Helms said.

# Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP

## Virginia Prewelli

rider a barrage of critical books from former European supporters. After many years of admiring him, the latter took a harder look and found a dictator behind his beard.

Three blockbuster books assailing Castro have caused a sensation in Europe's intellectual circles. So far, this is being virtually ignored by the U.S. intellectuals who pledged their good judgment as Castro's bond.

The intellectual barrage assails Castro from three different positions on the left. The first to fire was Castro's old friend, Rene Dumont, a Frenchman who is a Moscow-lining communist and agronomist. M. Dumont's book, "Cubo: Is It Socialist?" not only reads Castro out of the socialist camp, but attempts to rescue that camp from the stigma of having Castro associated withit.

Castro has responded with a tremendous propaganda campaign to discredit M. Dumont His major charge is that the Castro official who gave M. Dumont the negative information was a "CiA agent." M. Dumont laughs at this. He charges that Castro has become a dictate, that he has monopolized decisions, especially in the agricultural programs—and brought his experiment and his economy to ruine.

THE second to attack is a Maoist Pole, K. S. Karol, who lives in France. His book, "Guerrillas in Power," accuses Castro of over-militarizing Cuba and monopolizing decisions. He says the "middle bureaucraey" is a stumbling

# Waking up

block and Isolates Castro from the workers and students. He slams Castro's economics.

Deeply stung by this, Castro has actually begun to hold exercises that he calls "elections" in which workers and students choose—or appear to choose—organizational leaders. Castro still makes all the decisions, however, even on such details as where rice shall be planted, etc.

THE third new critic has harled injot he intellectual fray a 1,500-page work called "Cuba: the Search for Freedom." The author is Dr. Hugh Thomas, professor of history at Reading University, Reading, England. He gained world recognition some years ago with a monumental study of the fascist-communist struggle in Spain, entitled "The Spanish Civil War." Dr. Thomas is a liberal who leans far to the left on specific issues.

Castro was such an Issue. Like Dumont and Karol, Dr. Thomas was an early and ardent supporter of Castro and has visited Fidel and Cuba many times. His book reveals the bitterness of disillusionment. He says Castro has fed the Cuban people welfare socialism and reform at the price of persons! liberty — and that the cost is for too ligh.

That it took these three highly-considered European Intellectuals over ten years to see Castro's true face says two things about them. First, they must have been dazzled by the excitement Castro always creates — a dangerous weakness for men who propose to judge history. Second, none was a scholar of enydepth either in the system Castro proposed to implant or in roughly similar economic experiments tried in Latin America — notably Mexico's in the 1930's and Peren's in the 1930's.

#### Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP MIAMI HERALD 2 APRIL 1971

Cuban Poet Padilla Runs Afoul

By FRANK SOLER Rerald Latin America Staff

An award-winning poet 19. apparently has become the latest victim of a Castro government campaign to quash anti-revolutionary sentiment among Cuban intellectuals.

.Heberto Padilla, 39, winner of the 1968 national poetry prize by the Union of Cuban Artists and Writers, was arrested along with his wife, Belkis, at their Havana ed off.

Although Padilla's wife was subsequently released, Padilla is believed to be still

Padilila's arrest was not immediately reported, by the Cuban press and the charges .. disclosed.

HOWEVER, in a news dispatch from Hayana, the icles. French news agency AFP said the "severity of the measure (arrest) suggests the existence of serious charges against the poet,"

AFP hinted that Padilla's agrest may have been related to the arrest a day carlier of a French journalist who was preparing to leave Cuba after. residing there for more than three years.

The journalist, Pierre Golendorf, was picked up by securify police in Havana on revolution, was not entirely unspecified charges March supprising.

Golendorf reportedly is being held incommunicado. Efforts by the French Embassy in Havana to contact or even locate him have been unsuccessful, AFP said.

THERE IS speculation also that Padilla's arrest may have been connected with that of a Cuben agronomist apartment last month. The who recently "confessed" apartment, in the Vedado that he was an agent for the as "unfit revolutionarily." district of the city, was seal- U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

The agronomist, Raul Alonso Enrique Olive, full of "skepticism, ambiguiclaimed in a Cuban television ties, critical philesophy and appearance that he was a anti-historicism." CIA agent when he provided economic information to the against him have not been leftist French agronomisteconomist Rene Dumont, Dumont later wrote a book critical of Castro's economic pol-

> shed any light on her hosband's predicament after her release from jail.

"I do not know what he is being accused of," she told government-controlled Prensa Latina news agency. "I was told only that I can see Heberto on Thursday (a week ago)."

MARRIED for only a month, Mrs. Padilla, also a poet, said she had been allowed to take time off from winning play "Seven Against her job at the Union of Thebes," Cuban Artists and Writers on a Greek tragedy. "to recover emotionally from this unexpected occurrence."

Padilla's arrest, interpreted by observers as a further "Stalinization" of the Castro

The poet, who lived in the United States until 1959, had been criticized on several occasions for failing to too the regime's literary-line.

"Outside the Game," the book for which Padilla won his national prize in 1968,. triggered a behind-the-scenes dispute between the jury, which felt Padilla deserved the award, and literary officiels who banded his book

THE EOOK was finally published, but with a lengthy prologue which said it was

The Cuban armed forces magazine Verde Olivo charged that Padilla was aiding the CIA through his "frankly counterrevolutionary" writings.

Verde Olivo said Padilla Padilla's wife failed to had arrived "late in the race to join the CIA. Others have already advanced more than he and already live from the benefits."

> ANOTHER prominent Cuban writer, poet-playwright Anton · Arrefat, now 36, came under fire from Verde Olivo a week later. The magazine claimed that the dramatist was "at war against the revolution." The criticism was specifically aimed at Arrufat's awardwhich was based

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MAR 2 6 1971

# idel's friends label a foilure

By Georgie Ann Geyer Daily News Foreign Service

Probably nothing has hit Cuban Premier Fidel Castro as hard as the criticism being heaped upon him by his European Marxist friends — men he personally led for years on euphoric explorations through "Cuban socialism."

These were the foreign leftists who were carefully cultivated to give an independent view of the Cuban revolution. These were the men who were to testify to the revolution's genius.

But the vines of the Cuban revolution are budding bitter grapes these days, and these are the men who are danning ... Castro in book after book.

What's more, every publication makes almost exactly the Same points -- that Fidel's revolution has become a militarized dictatorship and nothing more, that socialism doesn't even exist and that a Cuban Stalinism of forced capital formation is rapidly approaching.

Premier Castro has attacked them bitterly. In one speech. he called them "left-wing adventurers" who wouldn't know a revolution if they saw one. One old friend and major critic, Rene Dumont, got all his information on agriculture from a Cuban who was actualfy a CIA agent, Castro charged.

Dumont made many trips to Cuba and got his information from scores of men, including, primarily, Castro himself. Even more damaging is the simple fact that Castro has cent speeches to all the economic disasters, to absenteeism in the work force and to the lack of a political organization - all factors the critics have so ruthlessly fingered.

THE MAJOR critics are three men: Dumont, a distinguished French agronomist and a leftist; K. S. Karol, Pol-V Fidel and not enough socialism ish-born Marxist and writer for British publications, and Hugh Thomas, prominent historian whose latest work was the epic on the Spanish civil

Dumont's book, "Is Cuba Socialist?" which has been excerpted all over the hemisphere, is perhaps the most damning, because Dumont was brought to Cuba originally by when he should be creating Castro to advise him on agri- some sort of political appaculture and to give his authoritative blessing to Castro's plans. Like Karol, he always sympathized with the Cuban revolution.

But now he asks: "To what extent does a ruling group have the right to impose its concept of the future on the country, or to permit privations caused by an urgent preoccupation with future development to be aggravated by economic disorganization?

"ONE MAY ask this especially when those who are in control in Cuba do not practice austerity in their own lives, as do their Chinese counterparts. If there were a truly democratic participation in decision-making one could talk of

Dumont sees a severe falling away of the Cuban people's support for Castro. "Apparently in public everyone is for Fidel," he writes. "In private, his partisans are much less numerous."

Throughout, the major criticism is that there is too much or participation of the people.

K.S. KAROL'S book, "Guerrilla in Power," is a huge and historically more definitive tome not only on revolution but on all of Cuban history.

Karol, too, stresses the question of whether it is really necessary for Castro to oversee the growing of every budding, spindly plant on the island, ratus in which power and decision-making are spread out among the people.

He, too, damns Castro's "personalism," but he goes even further in tracing how the Russians have, step by step, taken over the Cuban revolu-

None of these books (the Thomas book is more purely historical) speaks with much hope of the Cuban future unless important changes are

But what is important about the book is not that they are negative but that they were written by friends of the revolution; by men, who; in the beginning, were so enraptured by Cuba that Castro attempted to sacrifices voluntarily accept-make them his international public relations men.

bad to admit publich Appproved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R000500030001-6

#### Approved For Release 2001/03/04 GIA-RDP80-0160

governments, finance military dictators and run in the 20 years he had been using it. Aispurua airlines all in secret. When anyone me ie accusations against this venerable American instit. ion everyone scoffed and carried on believing that it was a small intelligence agency similar to the ones every nation maintains.

That was the way it was. Toda, it admits to having financed anti-government guerida troops in Laos, shady dealings in Cambodia, and its former members openly admit that the CIA did indeed overthrow the Jacobo Arbenz government in Guatemama and the Mossadegh government in Iran.

But the CIA is still at it. At the recent Seventh Congress of the International Organization of Journalists in Havana, Panamanian journalist Baltasar Aispurua told how he had been trained by the CIA to spy on the conference and report on Cuban and other socialist press agencies.

· Aispurna's story reads like a perfect James Bond movie, with fat little bureaucrats and addresses in Mexico and Miami-except that it is true. Along with his presentation of the history of his CIA training, Aispurua showed the radio he was given to send messages to Mexico, a jacket with a false liping in which he was supposed to carry his coded reports.

According to Aispurua, he was first contacted by a CIA agent named Francisco Colon in December of 1968. Colon told him the CIA was interested in him because of his expertise on Cuban affairs. Aispurua was also told "we can solve any economic problem or any other kind of problem you may have.

When the agent returned three days later, Aispurua agreed to work with the CIA

He was visited the next day by Colon, this time accompanied by "a Yenkee" named Rojer, who

took over from that point.

Rojer took his to a suite in the Las Vegas building, behind the Hotel Panama. Rojer and another American named Al interviewed him at length. Questions asked in the interview included, "What is your favorite color?, What is you favorite form of entertainment? and What kind of women do you like? [Aispurua is married]. Would you like a house and a car and to be able to give good things to your children? What would you like to be? What are your philosophical beliefs on how to make the world a: better place? and Can you adapt to living outside of your country?"

When contacted, Aispurua was underground as he had been involved in leftist activities on Panama

before the October 1968 coup.

In January 1969, together with Al, Aispurua was introduced to an old man "apparently a Filipino, who was just introduced as Dr. Garay, who had just

There was a time when the CIA could overthrow using a lie detector which Garay said had not failed

Before leaving Panama, he was trained in secret writing, receiving and decoding radio messages "which sent coded messages at a rate of 125 groups

And of course what would the CIA be without an ousted Bucan bureaucrat? The classes were given by a man of 50 named Adolfo who had held a high-ranking post in the field of Cuba-U.S. shipping before fleeing the country in the wake of Batista's speedy withdrawal.

After training Aispurua was taken around the world apparently for a first hand look at the Spanish-speaking Who's Who in the CIA.

He was treated with special cordiality by the then director of Costa Rican immigration, who is now in the leadership of the right-wing Free Costa Rica Movement (MCRL). He then went to Colombia where Al gave him his superspy radio, the jacket containing the codes, the money for his trips, and the carbon paper on which he was to send his messages.

This was also the time when he was told what his

objectives were on the Cuba mission.

He was he said to find out where the missile sites were (if any), check into the private lives of revolutionary leaders, discover any unreported economic reports on Cuba and try to make secret agreements with the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party.

From Colombia he went to Cuba, with stops in San Juan, Caracas, and Madrid on the way. He finally arrived in Cuba April 7, 1969, whereupon he immediately proceeded to spill the beans on the latest CIA attempt to find out what the people see

in Fidel Castro.

Florida 3

Aispurua greeted his would-be victims with the statement, "I have come to Cuba, but I am an agent recruited by the CIA as part of its plans to obtain information for its eventual aggression against Cuba."

Aispurua began his presentation by explaining the element the CIA computers seemed to have omitted is that which lets a revolutionary stand by his cuase even in the face of offers of money, a house or a

Said Aispurua, "My revolutionary ideas won out in order for me to be here today, on my own responsibility, but with the absolute satisfaction of having acted honestly, exposing how imperialism tries to buy hearts and minds and attack the Cuban revolution-and with it the Latin American revolution—and how imperialism underestimates those of us who devote our lives to the struggles of the people."

arrived from Washington Caray was a fet man of medium height who wore gasses. For Release 2004/03/04s: CIA-RDP80-01601R000500030001-6. Suarez Lara, P.O. Box 27, 558 Mexico 12, D.F. and Luis Valdes Garcia, 7840 S.W. 139th Terrace.

#### Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-0

HAMILTON, MONT. WESTERN NEWS MAR WEEKLY - 2,130

WE HAVE A POLICE STATE PAST EMBRYO

With the CIA playing a major role in conducting the war in Laos and Cambodia, along with Department of Defense bombers and gunships flying protective support overhead, it seems that Nixon has found a way to conduct the war while bringing home the infantrymen, at least the draftees.

Using foreign soldiers to fight the war in Asia reminds Americans of the fondness Americans held for the Hessians hired by King George in the American

Revolution.

Reports throughout the nation are that the Army has been engaged in a nation-wide spying upon American citizens building up dossiers on the thoughts of American citizens. Husbands and wives had best whisper softly if they converse about anything over the bang, bang, bang on the boob tube. Private views and intimate thoughts might find their way into the Army spy dossier and react badly upon you in the years to come! And if the Army don't get you the FBI is on the job as well.

It is now fairly well established that the CIA inspired at least four or more attempts upon the life of Cuban President Castro. The first try of the CIA was to furnish special poison capsules to slip into Castro's food. The poison was supposed to take three days to work. By the time the Cuban leader died his system would have discarded all traces of the sophisticated poison, so it would be thought he had died of natural if mysterious causes. The CIA failed to get the poison in the food. So they tried bullets the next three times, at least, but failed in these efforts.

There may be people who think poison and lead are too good for Castro. Put the shoe on the other foot. What if the Cubans were making a government-spy-

planned effort to kill our president?

Then there is Old Edgar Hoover and the FBI. It is notorious that his men have been working day and night for years building up detailed information about citizens throughout the country in an effort to discredit them when the time comes handy.

At one meeting not long ago it was developed that of a crowd of less than 150 in attendance more than 50 were undercover spies of one type or another:

It is getting so that the undercover spies will have to wear badges to keep from investigating each other.

This is not a funny situation. It will ultimately, undermine the country. We thought it horrid for the Soviet, the Nazis and the Fascists to conduct a police' state. We are endangered by the same sorry practices?

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BOSTON, MASS. GLOBE

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## Challenge to the press

THE PRESS AND THE COLD WAR, by James Aronson, Bobbs-Merrill Co., 308 pp., \$8.

The American press has always claimed absolute independence of government. So it is provocative to have this cardinal principle challenged by a newspaperman who holds that most of the press has blindly accepted official positions throughout the 25 years of the Cold War.

The challenge has some bias as James Aronson writes from a straight Marxist point of view. It also has some equivocation, I thought, in holding that it was Syngman Rhee who started the Korean War with John Foster Dulles's connivance. But much of his charge is documented, on the Bay of Pigs, Panmunjom, and Vietnam till recently.

The press timidity under McCarthyism needs no documenting, and that was deeply embedded in Cold War doctrine carried to fanaticism and hysteria. Par-

ticularly vulnerable are the wire services for carrying nothing on early reports of Cuban refugees in Guatemala. The Miami Herald admitted holding back the Florida end of this story two months until the New York Times printed it. But the Times and one or two other papers, printed only selective parts of the story. President Kennedy, when his fingers were burnt on the Bay of Pigs, told Turner Catledge of the Times he wished they had printed everything on Cuba.

Washington covered up the realities on Vietnam until a few courageous correspondents penetrated the fog. These suffered discipline, disillusion or discredming in the press by its acceptance of official obfuscation. The publishers on the Pulitzer Advisory Committee vetoed an award to Harrison Salisbury for his success in investigating the Hanoi side of the war. Finally, when the US was neck deep in Vietnam, the press realized and reflected "the credibility gap" in

ticularly vulnerable are the wire services for carrying nothing on early reports of a ClA training camp for Cuban refugees in Guate-

Louis M. Lyons

(Mr. Lyons is the newscaster on WGBH-TV.)

STATINTL Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R0 Another version of this ap the DAILY REPORT Latin Ame Furope on 16 Feb 71, page English language GRANMA ar in the daily Spanish-langu 15 Feb 71 p 2 bruary 21, 1971 21 Fc 671 STATINTL An agent of the CIA sent information much the mails, using a folce name and ret writing, via Madrid, from mid-IIJ6 II 1869. The patient and tenadous ats of the men of the State Security variment cleared up the mystery and word a new case of CIA espionage in agricultural sector and stouped the criminal detivity which was concecled bohind the latters sent to No. 59 Raymundo Fernándes Villaverde Street, Madrid 3, Spain. 1. BY JULIO GARCIA भारति हिन्दे के किनोनी राज्य काल **ा** संस्कृत करते हैं है है है है है है की कोरण है। के <del>का</del>री के सार स्वाहत Lair province product colouig our control ways resultand the discourse for A translation for the colour section of the colour section of the colour of the c CIA agent Raul Alonso Olivé, shown on the "Sector 40" taleyloin LAST SUNDAY'S "Sector 40" television program was dedicated to a case of espionage. For five years, from mid-1084 until lets 1850, an agent rescuted by the CIA in our country supplied the imperialists with information, mainly of an economic nature. This case not only once again reveals the plane of the imperialists to disrupt our economy, but shows comething else as well which is also very interesting: the ties of the CIA agent with Faceach agreements. O. Again in Madrid, two hours before re-turning to Cube, the man known as Safaz supplied him with the "materials." THE SPY RETURNED TO CUEA IN MAY 1834: "On my return to Cuba, I started collecting the information which we proceeded in the department and in the

Approved Fon Release, 2001/03/04 CIA-RDP80-0/160118000500030001-6 'information" during his stay in Cuba. to send a mossage on a sheet of ordinary HERE WE HAVE THE AGENT OF THE

lacom Olive's IV enceare

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

#### By Jack Anderson

#### Readers React

Our report on the CIA's attempts to assassinate Cube's Castro has brought a flood of letters. Writes Mrs. George Ross of Hollywood, Fla.: "I think you had one hell of a nerve to write the story about the Castro killing. It gave comfort to no one except the enemy."

Agreed Col. B. C. Fowlkes

Agreed Col. B. C. Fowlkes Jr. of Salisbury, Md.: "This is irresponsible journalism at its worst."

Vern Atkins of Santa Barbara, Calif., disagrees, "Thank God that we have alert and courageous men such as you to report such articles."

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MANCHESTER, Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RI GUARDIAN

WEEKLY - CIRC.N-A JAN 3 9-1971

### THE KHRUSHCHEV MEMOURS

VICTOR ZORZA has deduced that the Khrushchev memoirs now published in the West are not genuine and that the American Control Intelligence Agency has had a hand in them. Here he gives his reasons for thinking they are not by Khrushchev: next week he explains how he thinks the CIA was involved.

STATINTL

## Mir IK amd the

· The Khrushchev memoirs, which have been described as the publishing sensation of the decade. are more than that. There is a great deal of evidence to suggest that they are the publishing hear of the century. They do not come from Khrushchev nor, as has often been asserted, from the "disinformation department" of the KGB in Moscow-although both Khrushchev and the KGB had something to do with them. On this occasion, however, the Kremlin's "Department D," as it is familiarly known in the trade, seems to have had the cooperation of its American counterpart, the "department of dirty tricks" in the Central Intelligence Agency, which looks like being responsible for the final product.

The evidence for this view which it has taken me more than a month to collect, will certainly be disputed. The reader will have to make up his own mind on the facts presented in this series. I spoke to Svetlana Stalin (now Mrs Wesley Peters) in Arizona, and to Milovan Djilas, the former Yugoslav leader, in Belgrade. I have questioned the Russian pianist Vladimir Ashkenazy, who has now made his home in Iceland, about the references to his activities which appear in the book. But above all else, I have been checking the facts in every accessible source — from the war archives captured by the Germans, to old copies of "Prayda."

There are literally hundreds of errors of fact, of time, and of place in the book—but the publishers claim that these prove nothing. Mr Ralph Graves, the managing editor of "Life" magazine, which obtained the material and then syndicated it throughout the world, says that Mr Khrushchev is "remembering at a fairly advanced age, and I think it is perfectly natural for him to misplace some dates, places, chronology.

"Khrushchev Remem/Approved For/Retease 2001 03/04; CIA-RDH80-0160 Deutsch at 70s.

The American publisher of "Khrushchev Remembers" declares in an introductory note that the book "is made up of material emanating from various sources at various times and in various circumstances." But he is "convinced beyond any doubt; and has taken pains to confirm, that this is an authentic record of this is an authentic record of Nikita Khrushchev's words.".

These are not memoirs, the publisher insists, but "reminiscences." However, for the sake of convenience, I will follow the usage which has been generally adopted and will refer to them as memoirs.

Spokesmen for "Life," and the small group of men directly concerned in arranging the publication, refuse to state on record any fact concerning the provenance of the material. However, they have spoken off the record both to officials and to journalists of repute in the United States, which makes it possible to build up a composite picture of the claims they make for the book's origins.

It is claimed that the material came in the first place from members of the Khrushchev family-his daughter Rada, her husband Alexey Adzhubey, the former editor of "Izvestia" who, after the fall of Khrushchev, was given an insignificant journalistic post with a picture magazine, and another son-in-law, Lev Petrov, also a journalist, who died some months

ago.

The story is difficult to credit, because these members of the Khrushchev family would have enough experience of international affairs to realise that their role

and would ruin what remained of their careers and even their liberty.

Whatever motives they might have for wishing to publish Khrushchev's memoirs, would not trust their lives to "Life." And, as the disclosure of their names in the American press shows, they would have been right. Even though "Life" might now deny, for the record, that they had played any role in the matter, their names have been published and the KGB would certainly follow up any such clue. certainly follow up any such clue with the utmost thoroughness and would find out anything there is to find out—as they would have known in advance.

The theory widely held in American official quarters-which deny that the CIA could possibly have had anything to do with it—is that, whatever the origins of the material might be, at some stage the KGB got in on the act. The date quoted most often is late August when Victor Louis, the KGB's international journalistic "fixer," travelled from Moscow to Copenhagen for a week's meeting with staff members of "Time-Life."

At the same time, however, it is claimed that the "Khrushchev" material had been reaching "Life" in dribs and drabs for something like 18 months, during which the work of editing and translation was proceeding apace. Indeed, some American officials profess to believe that the Moscow purveyors of the material intended it to be published in the West in time for the twenty-fourth party Congress in March, since postponed to March this y

1R09059003000116 is that the publication of the memoirs, with their outspokenly anti-Stalin-

KGB would catch up with them,

### STATINTL Approved For Release 2001/03/04:::GIA-RDP

23-29 Jan 1971

#### the following of the The god that failed

CUBA: OR THE PURSUIT OF FREEDOM By Hugh Thomas. Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1,720 pages. £7 10s.

process productions are the second of the se

It was as long ago as 1961 that Professor Hugh Thomas first conceived the idea of writing an account of the Cuban revolution. Now he has finally delivered himself of a gargantuan offering twice the length of "War and Peace," and in the bulk and format of "Who's Who." But no one should feel dismayed at the prospect of these 1,700 pages of Cuban history, which, in fact, cover a full two-hundred-year span from the capture of Havana by the British in 1762 to the present day. This book is never dull; it gathers speed and background as its scope spreads out to include chapters on sugar, tobacco, education, population, with copious notes on almost every page, which are often as fascinating as the text. It is essentially a social history, distinguished throughout by the same painstaking research, the same eye for colourful detail which made the author's "The Spanish Civil War" both definitive and eminently readable.

But it is the drama and excitement of the Castro era which will appeal to most readers. With hindsight and scholarship the author shows a clear line of development in Castro's thinking from the vague, liberal idealism of the early 1950s to his present unorthodox brand of marxism. And Castro's marxism is no straitjacket: he wears it open at the neck and free on the shoulders like his native guayabera.

This freedom of movement has been a characteristic of Castro's way of life since his two-year guerrilla campaign in the Sierra Maestra, where he began to develop his remarkable talent for survival. It was here—as the author makes clear—that he showed himself to be as able a politician as he was a successful guerrilla leader; a fact that seems never to have been fully appreciated by the American State Department or intelligence authorities.



Castro: misleading Cuba

in the United States, that Castro was already a secret communist in his student days; and he finds plenty of evidence to refute it. "Capitalism," proclaimed Castro to a nationwide television audience as late as 1959, "kills by hunger. Communism kills those liberties so dear to man." No wonder that Blas Roca, then secretarygeneral of the Cuban Communist party, was moved to protest that "Castro was endangering the revolution by unleashing an anti-communist campaign." But the Cuban Communist party had a disciplined cadre and a ready-made organisation that Castro could use for his own ends; and he proceeded to use them—as of course, they used him.

It has clearly not been easy for a liberal historian, as Professor Thomas to remain entirely impartial, particularly where the United States is concerned. This work would have been less readable if he had been. He cannot prevent his intense dislike of the CIA from showing through-and one sees why. Some readers will find him unexpectedly kind to Batista; others may feel he is unduly harsh in his judgment of Che Guevara, whose cultivated ruthlessness towards the enemics of the revolution outweighs, in the author's opinion, his innate. compassion.

hopes that this was a "good" revolution. The balance sheet which the author draws up shows only too clearly the unacceptable price which Cuban citizens today are having to pay for the sense of nationhood, the full employment, the education and the advantages of an embryonic welfare state which the new regime has brought them: the loss of their rights as individuals and a bankrupt economy, as dependent today on the rouble as it had been in the bad old days on the dollar. Alas, "poor Cuba, always hopeful, always deceived" seems once again to have been grievously misled in its "pursuit of freedom." "The roads of my Cuba," says a song of the 1950s, "never lead where they should."

As Professor Thomas sees it, Cuba has been a victim of its geography and of "the iron historical laws which are a limitation even on the greatest powers and the greatest men." The purpose of Castro's revolution was "to escape the bondage of geographical as well as economic circumstances." But, concludes the author, quoting Goethe: "In vain will undisciplined spirits strive to achieve pure freedom. For the master first reveals himself in limitation and only law can give us liberty."

Could it be, too, that too little determination has been shown by too few Cubans to merit the freedom they covet? There is no easy way for a nation to gain and maintain its freedom-and Cubans in the past have by nature been too easy-going.

Professor Thomas please project reading for the many who had high

#### III Che" Guevere

John Womack, Jr.

The guerrilleros of Latin America are in for racking trouble in the next few years. Never protected by Moscow or helped by Peking, and now forsaken by Havana, they must fight on alone. But reduced in numbers, at odds with each other, short of allies and resources, nearly out of room to maneuver, they are hardly up to defending themselves, much less "liberating" the continent. Their strategy itself is in confusion, for they bear a prodigious legacy-that of the most attractive revolutionary the West has seen in thirty years, "El Che" Guevara, the meaning of whose life has come into question.

The consensus among revolutionaries is that "El Che" was a hero, and evidently he was. He came abruptly from nowhere, to make his portrait an emblem and his nickname a byword in cities around the world. His daring, frankness, ambition, and wit impressed everyone who met him, and many more who have only read about him. He operated consciously on a grand scale, figuring ultimately as a champion of all the wretched of the earth.

Moreover, he committed himself to his struggle completely, positively, happily, without the normal reservations of guilt. In this commitment he thrived, his confidence so mounting, his sincerity so clearing, his humor so cutting, that his dedication seems to have been no sacrifice but a satisfaction. Even the skeptics grant his "in-.tegrity." And at the end, after the stupefying campaign in Bolivia, he died beautifully as the brave captive. No one who knew him grieved as if his death were a surprise. It was, as Fidel suggested, "part of his personality." Like ancient heroes, "El Che" had always beamed premonitions that there was nothing amazing he might not do in living or in dying.

The question is, what difference does a dead hero make to the guerrilleros?

He learned his way to power as a baby, too soon ever to change and too well to keep to his own class or country. In the Argentine winter of 1928 he was born to quarrelsome parents stuck on business in a factory town in the pampas. He was thair first child. Father Guevara was a restless and tender man, descended from provincial

gineer, one of twelve heirs to very room that chalk and ink were poison? little. Mother Guevara was a willful Ernestito dipped his chalk into his ink, and pretty girl, pedigreed from the bit off a chunk, took a sip of ink, and viceroyalty, a star in fancy escapades dried his mouth on his blotter. The in her native Buenos Aires, heiress to a risks he took in front of his friends large estate. One cold fall day when brought them under his captaincy. If the baby was almost two-after his astima hit him while the gang played, mother had taken him swimming at they carried their captain home, and her yacht club in the Buenos Aires waited until he could lead them out suburbs-he had an attack of asthma. again. Recurrent attacks panicked the parents out of their quarrels, into frantic anxieties about the child. In 1932, for his in 1941 the Guevaras moved to the sake, the Guevaras moved to a town in provincial capital, Córdoba, where they the hills in the interior, Alta Gracia. had already enrolled Ernestito in sec-"What determined a great part of our ondary school. There the family relife," the father eventually concluded, mained for six years, its fortunes slip-"was Ernestito's furious asthma."

house in Alta Gracia was a mess. More babies were born. "Disorder reigned everywhere," the mother's sister fretted. "They never really cleaned except when they had a party.... There were leaks. If the dog pissed upstairs, it ran down to the first floor." But the mess was a method. In its clutter and stink and racket the house pulsed with lessons.

From his father Ernestito learned to take his friends as he found them. "All kinds of kids came to my house," the father later boasted, "from the sons of the Alta Gracia hotel manager to the caddies from the golf course and the sons of the field hands who worked in the hills around." From his mother, who often kept her asthmatic boy at home, Ernestito learned to read, write, and count as he pleased. From his par-

inal lesson-that withdrawing from his as another old windbag. When friends family gave him influence over it. Like had him to dinner, he would gobble other boys, he retreated into soccer his food, talk while he chewed, slurp, standings, chess, books from his father's library (Salgari, Verne, Dumas). But too often he retreated into himself. "He was rather sullen," his aunt observed, "very quiet, introverted."

Maybe because he knew he was Release 2004/03/04: CIA-RDP 20-01601R0005000300016

On the streets and in school he learned variations on the original les-

son. A ram loose in a vacant lot, frightening other children? Ernestito wrestled him until he rode him barenotables, schooled skimpily as an en- back. Whispered warnings in the class-

ping annually. The house turned into Through the 1930s the Guevara the familiar wreck, books and magazines piled everywhere, kids wheeling bikes around inside, do-it-yourself meals at any hour. And Ernestito grew into a compelling young man.

> He made close friends again, now among the juniors of the local upper crust, whose rites of initiation he easily passed. He stayed in the right school, the Colegio Nacional Deán Funes. He picked up Prench, his mother tutoring him. He became handsome and robust, as his asthma relaxed. Although he could not tango, he was good at sports, first in soccer (as goalie) and then in the game he relished, rugby (as scrum-half, the quarterback, center, and middle-linebacker all in one). He also read poetry, Baudelaire, Verlaine, Lorca, Neruda, lines of which he would recite.

But even as he fit among such ents' laments about business, which peers Ernesto distinguished himself went badly, he learned that the world from them. Their nice Catholicism he was vicious, that the rich were mostly lambasted--if Christ stood in his way, thieves, and the poor always victims, he told a girl mooning over Renan's From their free-thinking snorts about sweet Jesus, "I, like Nietzsche, would religion, he learned that the display of not hesitate to step on him like a piety was a sure sign of corruption, squishy worm." And their politics he From their cracks about politics, he ridiculed-Perón, whom they despised, learned that governments were hope he would demonstrate against "only if they give me a gun," and Churchill, At home he also relearned the orig- whom they worshipped, he dismissed and gulp. The worst deviation was his ciothes. In the company of acutely sensitive fashion-hounds he wore rags salvaged from the trash can-a nylon shirt gray with dirt (which he bragged

continued

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## Chilling report

The reports by syndicated columnist Jack Anderson that the United States CIA made six attempts to have Cuban dictator Fidel Castro assassinated is a chilling bit of information, even if only one-sixth true.

Anderson reported in a followup column that some Washington sources feel the CIA was responsible for the assassinations of the Dominican Republic's Rafael Trujillo in 1961 and Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam in 1963.

It is a fantastic thought indeed that in a democracy such as the U.S. a secret, near-autonymous agency can plot murders of foreign leaders supposedly to forward this country's interests.

If Anderson's reports were true, then it is not difficult to see why some small nations hold the . U.S. in contempt for the methods it uses to augment its foreign policy.

Anderson also indicated that after the Bay of Pigs debacle, President Kennedy told friends that he would like to "splinter the CIA and scatter it to the four winds.'

The problem is that the truth or falsity of Anderson's contentions will never been known, so secret are the machinations of the CIA.

And so this country — and the world — will never know for certain whether certain political, murders committed in the past decade - both foreign and domestic - were planned by an official arm of the U.S. government, an arm that owes allegiance and explanation to no one.

A bit frightening, isn't it?

# CIA accused of six plots to kill Castro

By ALAN OSBORN in Washington

THE Central Intelligence Agency conspired six times to try to assassinate Dr Castro, the Cuban leader, according to an article by Mr Jack Anderson in yes-

terday's Washington Post.
"For 10 years only a few people have known the terrible secret," he wrote. "They have sworn never to talk. Yet we have learned the details from sources whose credentians are beyond question."

Mr Anderson said the first plot was made at the time of the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 under President Kennedy.

After that failed, five teams were sent to Cuba on the assassination mission.

One of them apparently reached a rooftop within shooting range of Dr Castro before being caught.

ing range of Dr Castro before being caught.

Mr Anderson reported that some members of the conspiracy, still held "a nagging suspicion, that Castro became aware of the plot on his life and somehow recruited Oswald to retailate against President Kennedy."

On one recession according to

On one occasion, according to the article, an attempt was made to put a delyade action poison into Dr Castro's food. He was reported to be ill at about the time the poison would have worked.

Mr Anderson reported that Mr.

worked.

Mr Anderson reported that Mr John McCone, head of the CIA at the time, strongly denied that the agency had participated in a plot on Dr Castro's life and said that such an attempt could not have been made without his knowledge.

## Approved For Release 2001/03/04 CIA-RDP80

19 JAN 1971

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

## Castro Plot Raises Ugly Questions

#### By Jack Anderson

The plot to kill Cuban dic- assassinations. tator Fidel Castro, hidden for some ugly questions that high

sassinate any other leaders? John McCone, who headed the CIA with instructions of the CIA with instructions to shake it up. The CIA made emphatically that the CIA has tried to kill anyone. But extended to the CIA made to kill anyone. But extended to the CIA made to kill anyone. But extended to the CIA made the CIA has tried to kill anyone. But extended to the could give us no insight. His places, McCone acknowledged, brothers had never spoken to him about any assassination attempts against Castro, he said. He was aware, he volunted that the CIA made to the late the could give us no insight. His places, McCone acknowledged, of supporting a coup to cust him about any assassination attempts against Castro, he said. He was aware, he voluntedent suspected that the CIA president Kennedy? The late the late the had contended that there was no one strong enough to the late was no one strong enough to the had argued against this at a secret session with both Kennedy brothers. dent suspected that the ClA President Kennedy? The late ers had talked to the late had contended that there had arranged the shootings of President was nurdered nine President about climinating was no one strong enough to the Dominican Republic's Ramonths after the last assassi-Castro

nedy occupied the White House. Smathers told us he once spoke to the late President about assassinating Castro. Mr. Kennedy merely rolled back his eyes, recalled Smathers, as if to indicate the idea was too wild to discuss. Subsequently, Mr. Kennedy rold Smathers of his suspicion that the CIA may have been the median assassination of the pro-Castro move.

PLOT BACKFIRE?

PLOT BACKFIRE?

Former associates recall the was pretty well shocked he was visiting Diem. Adm. Ulysses Sharp, then our a stupid thing to do, and he wanted to get control of what the CIA was doing."

But McCone, disagreeing been present, but had left early to go to the airport.

But McCone, disagreeing been vigorously, told us that "no natural grief? He certainly learned that the assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, had been active in the pro-Castro move."

Trujillo, Diem or anyone else.

"Diem and Trujillo bumped off then-Ambassador Henry Cabot He was pretty well shocked both that. He thought it was a stupid thing to do, and he wanted to get control of what the CIA was doing."

But McCone, disagreeing been vigorously, told us that "no nel but was caught in nearby Cholon and "shot in a station wagon."

Cholon and "shot in a station wagon."

nedy know about the assassina- the dreadful day in Dallas. McCone admitted. "Whenever 10 years from the public, raises tion attempts? After the Bay Could Bob Kennedy have this subject (assassinating Cassome ugly questions that high of Pigs fiasco, President Kendricials would rather keep buried deep inside the Central intelligence Agency.

1. Has the CIA tried to assigned any other leaders, his prother Robart in charge.

the Dominican Republic's Rafael Trujiilo in 1961 and South Vietnam's Ngo Dinh Diem in 1963.

2. Did President Kennedy personally sanction the plot against Castro? The preparations to assassinate the Cuban dictator began during the last months of the Eisenhower administration as part of the Bay of Pigs scheme. All six attempts, however, were made during 1961-63 when Mr. Kennedy occupied the White

The Dominican Republic's Rafael Trujiilo in 1961 and South had assassination team was caught on a Havana rooftop with high-dent Kennedy seemed "horrified" at the idea of political upheaval."

Smathers told us that President Active Smathers told us that President Active Smathers told us that President Kennedy seemed "horrified" at the idea of political upheaval."

"I told the President and Bobby together," recalled Mechanis saying," recalled Smathers told us that President Active Smathers told us that President

behind the Trujillo and Diemiment and had traveled to sion, there was a wide spec-3. Did the late Robert Ken-Embassy a few weeks before one extreme to another,"

CIA had arranged to have ing on the palace, he said, Diem and Trujillo bumped off. then-Ambassador Henry Cabot

Mexico to visit the Cuban trum of plans ranging from

take Diem's place and that a coup, therefore, would bring

STATINTL

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

## empts to Kill Castro Laid to CIA

By Jack Anderson

Locked in the darkest recesses of the Central Intelligence Agency is the story of six assassination attempts against Cuba's Fidel Castro.

For 10 years, only a few key people have known the terri- Castro to lead them. ble secret. They have sworn never to talk. Yet we have failed, five more assassination learned the details from teams were sent to Cube. The sources whose credentials are beyond question.

idea had been discussed inside ruary or first of March, 1983. the CIA but insisted it had been

sources.

tor before the motley invad-late against President Ken-I complete with secret trysts at ers landed on the island. Their nedy. arrival was expected to touch have had more trouble putting down without the charismatic cover assignments for the CIA

teams were sent to Cuba. The last team reportedly made it We spoke to John McCone, to a rooftop within shooting selli, a ruggedly handsome traces of the poison, so he who headed the CIA at the distance of Castro before they time of the assassination at were apprehended. This hap the American and Cuban untempts. He acknowledged the pened around the last of Feb-derworlds, to arrange the as-

Pigs operation. The intent was plot upon his life and some-

who had handled other under-under him. After the first attempt relations office. He later poison capsules to slip into moved to Las Vegas to head Castro's food. The poison was up billionaire Howard Hughes' Nevada operations.

Maheu recruited John Rogambler with contacts in both sassination. The dapper, hawk-IA but insisted it had Nine months later, Presi-faced Roselli, formerly mar-Cuban, related to one of Cas-"rejected immedident Kennedy was guined ried to movie actress June tro's chefs, to plant the deadly ately." He vigorously denied down in Dallas by Lee Harvey Lang, was a power in the that the CIA had ever particl- Oswald, a fanatic who pre- movie industry until his con- On March 13, 1961, Roselli depated in any plot on Castro's viously had agitated for Cas-viction with racketeer Willie livered the capsules to his conlife. Asked whether the attro in New Orleans and had Bioff in a million-dollar Holly-tact at Miemi Beach's glamorlife. Asked whether the attro in New Orleans and had tempts could have been made a mysterious trip to the with his knowledge, he replied: "It could not have happened."

We have complete confidence, however, in our larger in graph of the warrange of the w The plot to knock off Castro mission's findings—that Casselli on trips to Miami to line invasion on April 17, 1961. began as part of the Bay of tro became aware of the U.S. up the assassination teams.

to eliminate the Cuban dicta-how recruited Oswald to retal-script of a James Bond movie, © 1971, Bell-McClure Syndicate, Inc.

glittering Miami Beach hotels To set up the Castro assassi and midnight powerboat off a general uprising, which nation, the CIA enlisted Rob dashes to secret landing spots the Communist militia would ert Maheu, a former FBI on the Cuban coast. Once, Roagent with shadowy contacts, selli's boat was shot out from

For the first try, the CIA out of his Washington public furnished Roselli with special supposed to take three days to act. By the time Castro died, his system would throw off all would appear to be the victim of a natural if mysterious ailment.

Roselli arranged with a pellets in the dictator's food.

ported by the Warren Com- names, they accompanied Ro- covered before the Bay of Pigs

Four more attempts were The full story reads like the made on Castro's life,